

A  
MEMENTO

TREATING,

OF THE

*Rise, Progress, and Remedies of*

SEDITIONS:

WITH SOME

Historical Reflections

UPON THE

*SERIES of Our late Troubles.*



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MDCLXXXII

MEMORANDUM  
TREATING



# A MEMENTO.

## C. A. P. I.

### THE

## Matter and Causes

### OF

# SEDITIONS.

**T**HE *Matter of Seditions* (according to Sir Francis Bacon; whose words and Authority I shall often make use of in this little *Treatise*) is of two kinds; much Poverty and much Discontentment.

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditions* he reckons to be these: *Innovation* in Religion; *Taxes*; *Alteration* of *Laws* and *Customs*; *Breaking* of *Priviledges*; *General Oppression*; *Advancement* of *unworthy Persons*; *Strangers*; *Deaths*; *Disbanded Souldiers*; *Factions* grown desperate. And whatsoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

## A M E M E N T O.

These Inconveniences, either seasonably discover'd, colourably pretended, or secretly promoted, are sufficient to the foundation of a Civil War. In which Negative and dividing Politicks, none better understood themselves than the Contrivers of our late Troubles: not only improving and fomenting Discontentments where they found them, and creating violent Jealousies, where there was but any place to imagine them; but they themselves were the greatest Gainers, even by those Grievances against which they complained: Reaping a double Benefit, first, from the Occasion of the Difference, and then from the Issue of it.

**The Remedy.** When a seditious Humour is once mov'd, the best Remedy is to cut off the Spring that feeds it: by pleasing all sorts of People, so far as possible, and by disobliging none, but upon Necessity. Which publick tenderness must be so managed, that the Majesty of the Prince be not lost in the Goodness of the Person: for nothing can be more Dangerous to a Monarch, than so to over-court the Love of his People, as to lose their Respect, or to suffer them to impute that to his Easiness which ought to be ascrib'd purely to his Generosity.

**Contempt more fatal to Kings than hatred.** Offences of that daring and unthankful quality, can scarce be pardon'd, without some hazard to the Authority that remits them: Secret Contempts being much more fatal to Kings, than publick and audacious Malice; the latter commonly spending it self in a particular and fruitless Malignity toward the Person (and that with Terror too, as being secur'd under a thousand Guards of Majesty and Power) whereas the Other privily taints the whole Mass of the People, with a Mutinous Leaven, giving Boldness to contrive, Courage to execute; and, if the Plot miscarries, there's the Hope of Mercy to ballance the peril of the Undertaking. For a Conclusion of this Point, He that but thinks Irreverently of his Prince, Deposits him.

Concerning the Materials of Sedition; viz. Poverty and Discontentment: it would be endless to dissolve these General Heads into Particular Rules: the best Advice in this Case must be General too; that is, to endeavour to remove whatever Causes them, referring the Particulars to Counsel and Occasion.

**Poverty breeds Sedition.** 'Tis very well observ'd by the Lord St. Albans, touching Poverty: [So many overthrown Estates, so many Votes for Treason.]

## A M E M E N T O.

Troubles; and if this Poverty and broken Estate in the better sort, be join'd with a Want and Necessity in the mean people, the Danger is Great and Imminent: ] Which to prevent, [ Above all things (says the same Author) good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys in a State be not gathered into few hands.; for otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve: And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread.] And again, [ A numerous Nobility causeth Poverty and Inconvenience in a State, for it is a Surcharge of Expence.

A numerous Nobility causeth poverty.

As to the Seeds of Discontentments, they are as various as the Humours they encounter; dependent many times upon Opinion, and inconsiderable in themselves, however Notorious in their Effects.

Touching the Discontentments themselves, it is the Advice of the Lord Verulam, [ That no Prince measure the Danger of them by this; Whether they be just or Unjust? for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable. Nor yet by this, whether the Grievs whereupon they rise, be in Fact, great or small; for they are the most dangerous, where the Fear is greater than the Feeling.

Fears and Jealousies.

Such were those furious and implacable Jealousies, that started the late War, which doubtless may more properly be accounted among the Dotages of a Disease, or the Illusions of a dark Melancholy; than the deliberate Operations of a sober Reason.

Proceed we now from the Master and more remote Causes of Seditions, to the Approaches and Prognosticks of them.

## C A P. II.

### The Tokens and Prognosticks of Sedition.

**I**T is in many Cases with Bodies Politick, as it is with Natural Bodies; both perish by delaying till the Distemper be grown too strong for the Medicine: Whereas by watching over, and applying to the first Indispositions of the Patient, how easie is the Remedy of a Disease, which in one day more perhaps becomes Incurable? Some take it for a point of Bra-

very, not to own any *Danger* at a distance, lest they should seem to fear it. Others are too short-sighted to discern it: So that betwixt the *Rash* and the *Stupid*, (a large proportion in the Division of the World) we are past the help of *Physick* before we can perswade our selves we need it.

*Dangers* (says the Incomparable *Bacon*) are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers half-way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a Watch upon their Approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep.]

Neither let any man measure the Quality of the *Danger*, by that of the *Offender*: For again, 'tis the *Matter*, not the *Person* that is to be consider'd; *Treason* is contagious, and a *Rascal* may bring the *Plague* into the *City*, as well as a great *Man*.] I do the rather press this *Caution*, because *Security* was the Fault of those to whom I direct it.

But what avails it to be wary of Dangers, without the skill and providence to fore-see and prevent them? Or what hinders us from the fore-knowledge of those *Effects*, to which we are led by a most evident, and certain train of *Causes*? States have their *Maladies* as well as Persons; and those ill habits have their peculiar *Accidents* and *Affections*; their proper *Issues* and *Prognosticks*: upon the true judgment of which Circumstances depends the Life and Safety of the Publick. Not to play the fool with an *Allegory*; Be it our care to observe the Gathering of the Clouds, before they are wrought into a *Storm*.

Among the Presages of foul Weather, the Lord St. Albans reckons *Libels* and licentious Discourses against the Government, when they are frequent and open: and in like sort, false news often running up and down, and hastily imbraced, to the disadvantage of the State.

We need not run beyond our Memories to agree this Point, it being within the Ken of our own Notice, that *Libels* were not only the Fore-runners, but in a high Degree, the Causes of our late Troubles: and what were the frequent, open, and licentious Discourses of *Chalk-men* in Pulpits, but the ill-boding Play of *Portessee* before a Tempest?

We

The dangers  
of Libels.

We may remember also the *false News* of Plots against the Religion and Liberties of the Nation, and how the King was charg'd as an *Abettor* of the *Design*.

We may remember likewise, how the *Irish Blood* was cast upon the Account of his late Sacred Majesty, even by Those men whose guilty Souls are to Reckon with Divine Justice for every Drop of it.

Neither have we forgotten with what *Care* and *Diligence* these *Falshoods* were dispers'd; with what Greediness they were swallow'd; nor what ensu'd upon it.

If we look well about us, we may find this Kingdom, at this Instant labouring under the same Distempers; the Press as *busie* and as *bold*; Sermons as *factions*; Pamphlets as *seditions*; the Government *defam'd*. The Lectures of the *Faction* are throng'd with pretended *Converts*; and scandalous Reports against the *King* and *State*, are as currant now as they were twenty years ago.

These were ill Tokens *then*, and do they signifie just nothing *now*? What means all This but the new Christening of the *Old Cause*? the doing over again of the *Prologue* to the last *Tragedy*?

Sir Francis Bacon proceeds, [*That Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the Yoke, and Assay of Disobedience; especially if in those Disputings, they which are for the Direction, speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against it, audaciously.*]

Herein is judiciously expressed the *Motion* or *Gradation*, from Duty to Disobedience. The first step is to *Dispute*; as who should say, *I will if I may*. The very *Doubt* of Obeying, subjects the *Authority* to a *Question*, and gives a dangerous Hint to the People, That *Kings* are accountable to their Subjects.

To *Excuse* is a Degree worse, for that's no other than a *Refusal* of Obedience in a Tacit Regard either of an *unjust Command* or of an *unlawful Power*.

To cavil at the *Mandates* of a Prince, is an express *Affront* to his *Dignity*, and within one Remove of *Violence*.

Through



## A M E M E N T O.

Through these *Degrees*, and *slidings* from *Bad* to *Worse*, from one *Wickedness* to *Another*, our late *Reformers* Travel'd the whole Scale of *Treason*; as the *Scene* chang'd, shifting their *Habits*, till at last, quitting the *Disguise* of the *Kings Loyal Subjects*, they became his *Murderers*.

What's more familiar at this *Day*, than *disputing* His *Majesties Orders*; *disobeying* his *Proclamations*, and *violsing* *Acts of Parliament*? Whereof there are so many, and so *Audacious* Instances, it shall suffice to have made this *General* mention of them.

Another *Observation* is, that, *When Discords and Quarrels, and Factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a Sign the Reverence of Government is lost.*

This was the temper of that *Juncture*, when the *Schismatical* Part of the *two Houses*, and the *Tumultuary Rabble* joyn'd their *Interests* against *Bishops*, and the *Earl of Strafford*; which *Insolence* was but a *Prelude* to the succeeding *Rebellion*.

And are not *Factions* carried *Openly* and *Audaciously* now? when the *Promoters*, and *Justifiers* of the *Murder* of the late *King*, are still continued *publick Preachers*, without the least pretence to a *Retraction*; Dictating still, by *Gestures*, *Shrugs*, and *Signs*, That *Treason* to their *Auditory* which they dare not *Utter*? What are their *Sermons*, but *Declamations* against *Bishops*: Their *Covenant-keeping Exhortations*, but the contempt of an *establish'd Law*? How it comes to pass, *Heaven* knows; but These *Honest Fellows* can come off for *Printing* and *publishing* down-right *Treason*, when I have much ado to scape for *Telling* of it.

Whither these *Liberties* tend, let any *Man* look over his *shoulder*, and *satisfie* himself.

When any of the *Four Pillars of Government*, are mainly *shaken*, or *weakened*, (which are *Religion*, *Justice*, *Counsel*, and *Treasure*;) *Men* had need to pray for *fair weather*.

To speak only of the last; The want of *Treasure* was the Ruine of the late *King*; Through which defect, his *Officers* were expos'd to be *Corrupted*, his *Counsels* to be *Betray'd*, his *Armies* to be ill pay'd, and consequently not well *Disciplin'd*: Briefly, where a *Prince* is *Poor*, and a *Faction* *Rich*, the *Purse* is in the wrong *Pocket*.

*Mutis utile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible *Sign*, of a *State* disposed to *Seditions* and *Troubles*, and it must needs be,

be, that where War seems the Interest of a People, it should be likewise the Inclination of them.

Touching the *General Matter, Motives, and Prognosticks of Sedition*, enough is said; We'll now enquire into the special cause of the late Rebellion.

## C A P. III.

*The True Cause of the late War, was AMBITION.*

THE True Cause of the late War, was *Ambition*: which being lodg'd in a confederate *Cabale* of Scotch, and English, drew the corrupted Interests of both Kingdoms into the *Conspiracy*: to wit, the *factious, covetous, Malecontents, Criminals, Debtors*: and finally, all sorts of men, whose *crimes, necessities, or passions*, might be *secur'd, reliev'd, or gratifi'd* by a change of Government. To these, were joyn'd, the *credulous, weak Multitude*; the *clamour* being *Religion, Law, and Liberty*. And here's the sum of the *Design, Pretence, and Party*.

The Rise of  
the late War.

This *League* we may presume was perfected in 1637. First from the Kings Charge of *High-Treason* against *Kimbolton*, and the *Five Members*; Secondly from the *correspondent practices* in both Nations, appearing manifestly about that time: Next, 'tis remarkable, that the *English pardon* has a *Retro-spect* to the beginning of the *Scotch Tumults*; (*Jan. 1. 1637. Three Years* before the meeting of the *Long Parliament*) which *Provision* seems to intimate That *Conspiracy*. And now the *Poyson* begins to work.

Upon the 23 of *July* in the same Year, (according to a publick Warning given the Sunday before) the *Dean of Edinburgh* began to read the *Service-Book* in the Church of *Saint Giles*: whereupon ensued so horrid a *Tumult*, that the *Bishop* was like to have been Murder'd in the *Pulpit*, and after Sermon scaped narrowly with his Life to his Lodgings.

The first Tumult against  
the Service-book.

The particular recital of their following *Infolencies* upon the *Bishop of Galloway*, the *Earls of Traquair and Wigton*; the besieging of the *Council-House*, and contempts of the *Council*, their audacious *Petitions* against the *Service-Book*, and *Cannons*, I shall pass over, as not belonging to my purpose.



The Covenanters  
Usurp the  
Supream Au-  
thority.

Upon the 19 of Febru. following, a Proclamation was publish'd against their *Seditious Meetings*; which they encounter with an *Antiprotest*, and presently erect their *publick Tables of Advice and Counsel for Ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom*: The Method whereof was This. *Four principal Tables* they had. *One of the Nobility*; a *Second of the Gentry*; a *Third of the Burroughs*; a *Fourth of Ministers*. And these *Four* were to prepare Matters for the *General Table*; which consisted of *Commissioners* chosen out of the Rest.

The Institution of the  
Scottish Covenant.

The promoters of it.

The first Act of this *General Table* was their *Solemn Covenant*; a Contrivance principally promoted by persons formerly engaged in a *Conspiracy* against the King, and, among others, by the Lord *Balmerino*, a *Pardon'd Traitor*, and the Son of One. His Father had been a *Favourite*, and principal *Secretary* to King *James*, and rais'd by him out of Nothing, to his Estate, and Dignity. Yet was this *Thankless Wretch Arraign'd* for, and *Attainted of High-Treason*, and after Sentence to be *Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd*, he was by the Kings Mercy *pardon'd*, and *restor'd*. Another eminent *Covenanter* was the Earl of *Arguile*, of whom *Walker* gives this Accompt.

Hist. Indep.  
Appendix,  
pag. 14.

He brought his Father to a pension; outed his Brother of his Estate *Kintyre*; ruin'd his Sisters by cheating them of their portions, and so enforcing them into *Cloysters*.

It must needs be a *Conscientious Design* with such *Saints* as These in the Head of it.

The Covenant  
a Rebellious  
Vow.

This *Covenant* was effectually no other then a *Rebellious Vow* to oppose the *Kings Authority*, and *Justifie Themselves* in the exercise of the *Sovereign power*, which they assum'd, to a degree even beyond the claim of Majesty it self, pleading the *Obligation* of the *Covenant*, to all their *Usurpations*.

A Plea for  
Treason.

The Usurpations of the  
Covenanters.

They *Levyed Men and Moneys*; *Seiz'd the Kings Magazines and Strong Holds*; *Rais'd Forts*; *Begirt his Castles*; *Affronted his Majesties Proclamations*; *Summon'd Assemblies*; *Proclaim'd Fast*s; *Deprived, and Excommunicated Bishops*; *Abolish'd Episcopacy*; *Issued out Warrants to choose Parliament-Commissioners*; *Renounced the Kings Supream Authority*; *Trampled upon Acts of Parliament*; *pressing their Covenant upon the Privy-Council*. They gave the last *Appeal* to the generality of the People; *discharging Counsellors, and Judges, of their Allegiance*, and threatening them with *Excommunication*, in case they disobey'd the *Assembly*.

# A M E M F N T O.

9

All this they did, according to the Covenant; and whether This was Religion or Ambition, let the World judge:

These Affronts drew the King down with an Army to the Borders; and within two Miles of Barwick, the two Bodies had an Enterview, March 28, 1639. But the Scots craving a Treaty, his Majesty most graciously accorded it; Commissioners were appointed, Articles agreed upon, and a Pacification concluded, June 17. A Pacification with the Scots.

Not one Article of this Agreement was observ'd on the Covenanters part; but immediately upon the Discharge of his Majesties Forces, the Scots brake forth into fresh Insolencies, and the Incroachments upon the Prerogative; addressing to the French King for Assistance against their Native Sovereign: And yet the Quarrel was, as they pretended for the Protestant Religion, and against Popery. Their Insdelity.

In August 1640, they entred England, and upon a Treaty at Rippon soon after, a Cessation is agreed upon, referring the Decision of all Differences to a more General Treaty at London. They enter England.

In November began the Long Parliament; and now the Scene is London: Where with great License and Security, Parties are made, and Insolencies against the Government committed and authorized under protection of the Scotch Army, and the City-Tumults. By degrees, Matters being prepar'd and ripened, they found it opportune soon after, to make something a more direct Attempt upon the Sovereignty, but by Request first; and resolving if that way fail, to try to force it. The influence of the Scotch Army, and the City-tumults, upon the Long Parliament.

In January they Petition for the Militia: In February they secure the Tower; and in March Petition again for't: But so, that they Protest, If his Majesty persist to deny it, they are resolv'd to take it: And the next day it is Resolved upon the Question, That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of Defence by Authority of both Houses of Parliament. The two Houses usurp the Militia.

In April 1642, the Earl of Warwick seizes the Navy, and Sir John Horham, Hull; Refusing the King Entrance, which was justified by an ensuing Vote; and his Majesty proclaiming him Traitor for it, was Voted a Breach of Priviledge. The Rebellion begins at Hull.

In May, they pretended Governour of Hull sends out Warrants to raise the Trained Bands, and the King (then at York) forbids them; moving the County for a Regiment of the

The Kings defence of himself, Voted a War against his Parliament. Treasonous Profusions of the two Houses.

*Trained Foot, and a Troop of Horse for the Guard of his Royal Person: Whereupon it was Voted, That the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make a War against his Parliament, and that whosoever shall assist him, were Traytors.*

They proceeded then to corrupt and displace divers of his Servants, forbidding others to go to him. They stop and seize his Majesties Revenue; and declare, *That whatsoever they should Vote, is not by Law to be questioned either by the King or Subjects; No Precedent can limit or bound their Proceedings. A Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or People have any Right. The Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament. The King hath no Negative Voice. The levying of War against the Personal commands of the King, though accompanied with his Presence, is not a levying of War against the King: but a levying War against his Laws and Authority, which they have power to declare) is levying War against the King. Treason cannot be committed against his Person otherwise then as he was Intrusted. They have Power to judge whether he discharge his Trust or not; that if they should follow the highest Precedents of other Parliaments Patterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of Modesty or Duty in them; and that it belonged only to them to judge of the Law.*

Having stared and extended their Power, by an absurd, illegal, and impious severing of the King's Person from his Office, their next work is to put Those Powers in execution; and to subject the Sacred Authority of a lawful Monarch, to the Ridiculous and Monstrous Pageantry of a Headless Parliament; And That's the Business of the 19 Propositions demanding.

*That the great Affairs of the Kingdom and Militia may be managed by Consent and Approbation of Parliament; all the great Affairs of State, Privy-Council, Ambassadors, and Ministers of State, and Judges, be chosen by Teem; that the Government, Education, and Marriage of the King's Children, be by Their Consent and Approbation; and all the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, put under the Command and Custody of such as They should approve of, and that no Peers to be made hereafter, should Sit and Vote in Parliament.*

They desire further, *That his Majesty would discharge his Guards; Eject the Popish Lords out of the House of Peers, and put the Penal Laws against them strictly in Execution: and finally, That the Nation may be govern'd either by the Major part*

of

Deposing Propositions of June 2.

of the Two Houses, or in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Council; and that no Act of State may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority without Them.

Upon these Terms they insisted, and Rais'd a War to Ex-  
 tort them: So that 'tis clear, they both design'd and fought to  
 Dethrone his Majesty, and exercise the Sovereign Power them-  
 selves; which was to Suit their Liberty of *Acting* to that of  
*Sitting*, and to make themselves an *Almighty*, as well as an  
*Everlasting Parliament*.

The Cause of  
 the War, was  
 Ambition.

## C A P. IV.

*The Instruments and Means which the Conspirators employed  
 to make a Party.*

THAT their Design was to usurp the Government, is manifest:  
 Now to the Instruments and Sleights they use to compass it.

The Grand Projectors knew very well that the strength of  
 their Cause depended upon the favour of the Ignorant and Li-  
 centious Multitude; which made them court all people of that  
 Mixture, to their Party; (for Men of Brain and Conscience  
 would never have agreed to a Conspiracy, against so clear a  
 Light, so just an Interest); and Those they found their fast  
 Friends, whom neither the Horrour of Sin, nor the brightest  
 Evidence of Reason was able to work upon.

The Rabble  
 were the Pil-  
 lars of the  
 Cause.

To fit and dispose Both Humors to their purpose, the first  
 Scruple they started was Religion: which taken as they used  
 it, in the external form and jingle of it, is beyond doubt, the  
 best Cloke for a Knave, and the best Rattle for a Fool in Na-  
 ture. Under this Countenance, the Murder of the King pass'd  
 for a Sacrifice of Expiation: and those Brute Animals, that  
 scarce knew the Bible from the Alcoran, were made the Arbi-  
 trators of the Difference.

Religion the  
 pretence.

The fear of Popery was the Leading Jealousie, which Fear  
 was much promoted by Pamphlets, Lectures, and Conventicles:  
 Still coupling Popery and Prelacy; Ceremonies and the Abomi-  
 nations of the Whore: by these Resemblances of the Church of  
 England, to that of Rome, tacitly instilling and bespeaking the  
 same disaffection to the One, which the People had to the Other.  
 Their zeal was first employ'd upon the names of Priests, and Al-

Their Zeal  
 against Po-  
 pery.

lar,

The Method  
of the Reform-  
ation.

tar, the *Service-Book*, *Church-habits*, and *Ceremonies* : From Thence, they stept to the Demolishing of *Church-Windows*, *Images*, *Crosses* : the Persons of the Bishops went to't next, and then the Office. Thus far the Rabble carry'd it, the Leaders at last sharing the Revenues; and here's the Reformation of the Hierarchy compleat.

Rebellion di-  
vides God and  
the King.

When by these Scandalous *Impositions*, the Duties of a *Christian* and a *Subject*; *Conscience* and *Loyalty*, seem once to *enterfere*, what can be looked for, but *Rebellion*, from a Loose *Multitude* that think themselves Discharged of their *Allegiance*?

Scandal Em-  
proved,

and Invented.

All Governments are lyable to Abuses, and so was Ours, among the Rest; where Personal *Faylings*, and *Excesses*, were improv'd into the Fame of an *Universal Prophaneness*, or *Apofstacy*. Nor did they reckon it enough to *Expose*, and *Aggravate* particular *miscarriages*, and *Humane Frailties*; but the most horrid Crimes Imaginable, were without either *proof*, or *ground*, or *colour*, laid to the Charge of the *Episcopal* and *Royal party*; Both which were ruin'd by the same Method of *Calumny*, and *Sedition*.

The late King  
was betray'd  
by presbyteri-  
ans in his  
Counsel.

The main Encouragement to their Attempt, was that, The *Presbyterians* had a strong Party in the *Kings Council*; ( and this His Majesty himself takes notice of, in his Large Declaration of 1639. Pag. 124. ) by which means, the *Kings Councils* were both *Distracted* and *Betray'd*: and the *Conspirators* Secure (at Worst) of *Mediators* for a commodious Peace, in case they Fail'd of a *Successful War*. Nor did this Confidence deceive them, in the following Interview of the Armies near *Barwick*, where the *Covenanters* had been almost as easily Beaten as look'd upon, had not the Quarrel been taken up by an *Importune*, and *dear-bought* Peace, for that expedition cost more Money, only to *face* the *Scotch Rebels*, then would afterward have serv'd His Majesty to have *Reduced* the *English*.

A Dear peace,  
the cause of a  
long War.

Triumph.

Throughout the Menage of their Affairs, it may be Observed that they had these *Three Regards* still in their Eye, and Care. 1. To *Reproach* his Majesties Government. 2. To *Animate*, and *Reward* his *Enemies*: And 3. To *persecute* his *Friends*: And still as any thing Stuck, a *Tumult* ready at a dead lift to help it forward: For they were not Ignorant, that the King was to be *Defam'd* before he could be *Disarm'd*; *Disarm'd*, before *Depos'd*; *Deprived* of his *Friends*, before *De-*

The Method  
of Treason.

*spoy'd*



*spoild of his Rights and Privileges : and That being their Design, This was Rationally to be their Method.*

Their first Uproar about the *Service-book*, was but a wild tryal how far the *Multitude* would *Engage*, and the *Magistrate* *Endure* ; which appeared in This, that the *City-Magistrates* did at first, Earnestly, and Publicly *protest*, not only *against* the *Ourage* ; but for the *Liturgy* : not daring to do *Otherwise* ; till a while after, Encouraged by the *Boldness* and *Importunity* of the *Offenders*, and the *Patience* of some in *Authority* ; those very Persons did in their *Pulpits*, and *Discourses*, magnifie that *Beastly Crew* for the *Worthies* of the Age, whom just before they had decry'd for *Rogues* and *Villains* : The Truth is, they were Then about to play the *Rogues*, *Themselves* ; and when persons of *Quality* turn *Rascals*, Then do *Rascals* become persons of *Quality*.

Rebellion begins in Confusion, and ends in Order.

At the beginning of the Broyl, half a dozen broken heads had saved Three Kingdoms. Who would have own'd That Rabble, had they been *Worsted* ? or, What *Resistance* could they have made to any *Legal Opposition* ? But they were *Flatter'd* to be *Quiet*, and That advanc'd this *Tumult* to a party ; the Faction growing every day more and more formidable.

As their *Strength* encreased, so did their *Pretences*, both in *Number*, and *Weight* ; and nothing less would content them, then to strip the *King* as bare, as they had done the *Bishops*. The particulars of their *Insolencies* are too many for a *Treatise*, and in Truth, too foul for a *Story* ; but in gross, nothing was wanting to the perfection of the *Wickedness*, which either *Hypocrisie*, *Perjury*, *Treason*, *Sacrilege*, *Rapine*, *Oppression*, *Forgery*, *Scandal*, *Breach of Faith*, *Malice*, *Murther*, or *Ingratitude* could contribute. All which, in every Point shall be made good by several *Instances*, if any Man require it.

We'll now look Homeward, where we shall find the *English* *Rebellion* wrought, to a Thridd, according to the Trace of the *Scottish* Pattern.

The English follow the Scottish pattern.

The *Press* and *Pulpit* were already at the Devotion of the *Reforming Party*, the *Covenanters* had an *Army* on Foot, and the *Schismatiques* were prepar'd for a *General Rising* ; at which time, his Majesty Summon'd a *Parliament*, to assemble in *November* following.

In This Contention, those of the *Confederacy*, made it their first work to engage the *People*, by ripping up of *Common Grievances*.

The prologue to the late War.

Loyalty per-  
secuted.

*Grievances, Breach of Laws and Priviledges*; and by contend-  
ing to assert their *Rights, Liberties, and Religion*, against the  
Encroachments of *Prerogative, and Popery*. Being secure of  
their Party, they propose next the *Manner* of accomplishing  
their Purpose; which must be Effected by *Craft and Terror*.  
In Order whereunto, They first attacqu'd Two of his Maje-  
sties prime *Counsellors and Confidants*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and  
the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*; (Two Persons worthy of the  
King's Trust and Kindness, however Worried by the  
Multitude). To weaken the *Lords House*, they null'd the  
*Bishops Votes*, and Committed Twelve of them for *Treason*;  
Five of the *Judges* were Committed likewise: And to dispose  
the *Lower-House*, nothing was wanting which either *Force*,  
*Flattery, Corruption*, or foul-play in *Elections* could Procure  
them.

So far as the King *Granted*, all went well; but if his Ma-  
jesty deny'd them any Thing, the Fault was laid upon his  
*Evil Counsellors*: Under which Notion all his *Friends* were  
comprehended. So that his Choice was This; either to give  
away his *Crown*, or to have it wrested from him.

In *May*, the Faction of the *Two Houses* Publish'd a *Prote-  
station*, (which was but a Gentle slip into the *Prerogative*  
*Royal* to try their *Interest*, and by degrees to inure the Peo-  
ple to their intended and succeeding *Usurpations*. Some four  
or five days after, were signed those *Two Fatal Bills*, for the  
Death of the *Earl of Strafford*, and the *Perpetuity* of the *Par-  
liament*: And having now gain'd leave to sit as long as they  
please, they have little futher to ask, but that they may like-  
wise do what they list.

Rebellion re-  
warded.

Where *Loyalty* was made a *Crime*, 'twas fit *Rebellion* should  
pass for a *Vertue*. Upon which suitable equity, the *Scots*  
were Justified, and *Voted*, our Dear Brethren, 300000/- in *June*  
1641, and Six-score thousand more in *August* following, and  
so we Parted.

The King goes  
for Scotland.

In this Perplexity of Affairs, the King takes a Journey in-  
to *Scotland*, if possible, to secure an Interest there; but the  
Conspiracy was gone too far to be compos'd by Gentleness.  
Upon his Majesties Departure, the *Houses Adjourn*, and dur-  
ing the *Recess*, appoint a *standing Committee*, and They for-  
sooth must have a *Guard*, for fear of their own Shadows.  
In which *Interval* of the King's *Absence*, the *Usurpers* lost

no



no time, as appear'd by their readines to Entertain him at his *Return*: When the first Present they made his Majesty, *His Welcome* was the *Petition*, and *Remonstrance* of December 15; which at his *Return*. I cannot think upon, but that Text comes into my mind, of Mark 15. 18. [*Hail King of the Jews, and they smote him on the head with a Reed, and spate upon him, and bowed the head, and did him reverence.*]

This *Impious Libel* was seconded with an *Audacious Tumult*, even at the *Gates* of the King's *Palace*; and it was now high time for his Majesty to enquire into the *Contrivers* and *Abettors* of these and other the like *Indignities*; and *Proclamation* was accordingly made for the *Apprehending* of them; which very *Proclamation* was declared to be a *Paper False, scandalous and Illegal*. The King Affronted by Tumults first; And Then for complaining of them.

After this *Language*, what had they more to do, but by *Armed Violence* to invade the *Sovereignty*, and to improve a loose and popular *Sedition*, into a *Regular Rebellion*? Which was a little hastned to, even beside the *Terms of Ordinary Prudence*) to implunge their *Complices* beyond *Retreat*, before they should discern that hideous Gulf into which their *Sin* and *Folly* was about to lead them. To keep their *Zeal* and *Fury* waking, the *Faction* had a singular Faculty at *Inventing* of *Plots*; *Counterfeiting Letters*; *Intercepting Messages*; *Over-hearing Conspiracies*: Which *Artificial Delusions* especially asserted by the pretended Authority of a *Parliament* and a *Pulpit*) could not but work strong Effects of *Scruple* and *Jealousie*, upon a *pre-judging* and *distemper'd* People.

These were the means and steps by which they gain'd that *Power*, which afterward they Employed in *Opposition* to those very ends for which they swore they Rais'd it; leaving us neither *Church*, nor *King*, nor *Law*, nor *Parliaments*, nor *Properties*, nor *Freedoms*. Behold! the *Blessed Reformation*: Wee'l slip the *War*, and see in the next place what *Government* they Gave us in *Exchange* for That they had *Subverted*.

## C. A. P. V.

*A Short View of the Breaches and Confusions betwixt the Two  
Factions, from 1648, to 1654.*

**I**T cannot be expected that a Power, *acquir'd by Blood and Treason*; maintain'd by *Tyranny*; the Object of a *General Curse and Horror* both of *God and Nature*; only *United against Justice*, and at perpetual *Variance* with it self:—I say, it cannot be expected, that such a Power as this should be *Immortal*. Yet is it not enough barely to argue the *Fatality of Wickedness*, from the *Certainty of Divine Vengeance*; and There to stop:—*Usurpers* are not rais'd by *Miracle*, nor cast down by *Thunder*; but by our *Crimes or Follies* they are *Exalted*, and Then, by the *Fatuity of their own Counsels*, down they *Tumble*. Wherefore let us enquire into the *Springs and Reasons* of their *Fortunes and Falls*; as well as Gaze upon the *Issues* of them: A timely search into the *Grounds of one Rebellion*, may prevent another. How the *Religious Opposers* of the late King *advanced themselves* against his *Sacred Authority*, we have already shew'd; be it our business here, to Observe their workings, *one upon the other*.

The Presbyterians ruin'd by their own Arguments.

To begin with *Them* that began with *Us*: The *Presbyterians*, having first asserted the *Peoples Cause* against the *Prerogative*, and attempting afterwards to *Establish Themselves*, by using *Pregogative-Arguments* against the *People*; found it a harder matter to *Erect an Aristocracy* upon a *Popular Foundation*, than to *subvert a Monarchy* upon a *Popular Preference*; or to dispose the *Multitude* (whom they themselves had *Declar'd to be the Supream Power*) to lay down their *Authority* at the *Feet of their Servants*. In fine, they had great *Difficulties* to struggle with, and more than they could overcome: (I mean, *great Difficulties* in point of *Interest*, and *Conduct*; for those of *Honour and Conscience*, they had subdu'd long since.) They strove however, till oppress'd by a *general hatred*, and the *Rebound of their own Reasonings*, they *Quitted to the Independents*.

Thus

Thus departed the *Formal Bauble, Presbytery*; succeeded, for England a Free-State, the next Four years, by the *Phanaticism* of a *Free-State*. The better half of which time, being successfully Employ'd in the subjecting of *Scotland*, and *Ireland* to their power, and Model, and to compleat their *Tyranny* over the Kings *Best Subjects*, and their *Usurpations* over his *Royal Dominions*; Their next Work was to make themselves Considerable *Abroad*, and 'twas the Fortune of the *Dutch* to feel the First proof of That Resolution.

Betwixt these *Rival States* pass'd Six *Encounters* in 1652. most of them Fierce and Bloody, the Last especially, a *Tearing* one. Upon the whole, the *Dutch* lost more, but the *English* got little, beside the *Honour* of the *Victory*: in which particular, the *Kingdom* pay'd dear for the *Reputation* of the *Common-Wealth*. Quarrels with the Dutch.

This *success* rais'd the *pride* and *vanity* of the *English*, so that at next *Rout*, nothing less would serve them than an *absolute Conquest*. But while they are providing for it, and in the *huff* of all their *Glory*; behold the *Dissolution* of the *Long-Parliament*; which whether it began or ended, more to the satisfaction of the *People*, is a point not yet decided. The Long Parliament dissolved.

*Dissolved* however it is, and *Rebuk'd* for *Corruptions*, and *Delays*, by *Cromwell*; who with his *Officers*, a while after, Summon a *new Representative*; and *Constitute* a *new Council* of *State*, compos'd of *Persons* entirely *disaffected* to the *Common-wealth*. This *Little, Ridiculous Convention*, thought to have done mighty *Matters*, but the *Plot Vented*, and *Vanish'd*.

Some of their *Memorable Fopperies* are These: The *Famous Act* concerning *Marriages*, was *Theirs*; they pass'd likewise an *Act* for an *Assessment* of 120000 *l. per Mensm*; they Voted down the *Chancery* and *Tythes*; they Voted also a *total Alteration* of the *Laws*. Barebones Parliament & Their Acts.

All of a mind they were not, and for *Distinction* sake, the company was divided into the *Honest party*, and the *Godly party*. Of the former, were *Cromwell's Creatures*, and of the *Other, Barebones*; or rather, *Harrisons*; (the *Person* they had design'd for *General*, if they could persuade *Cromwell* to quit his *Security* for some additional *Title of Dignity*.) These *Zealous Patriots* Commonly brought their *Bibles* into the *Houfe* with them; and as I am Enform'd, divers of them were seeking Their Zeal,

ing the Lord with *Vavasor Powell*, when This following Trick was put upon them.

Their Dissolu-  
tion.

The corrupti-  
on of a Con-  
venticle, is the  
General of  
a Protector.

Cromwell In-  
stalled, and  
Sworn Pro-  
tector.

A Councill of  
one and Twen-  
ty.

An Hour or two sooner in the morning then usual, Decemb. 12. he that they call'd their *Speake* took the *Chayr*; and it was presently *Mov'd* and *Carry'd*, (for several Reasons) to re-assign their power to him from whom they had it; which was immediately persu'd, and so they made *Cromwell* a Prince, for making Them a Parliament.

This gracious *Resignation* produc'd that blessed *Instrument* of Government, by which the *Hypocrite* was made *Protector*; and now forsooth the style is chang'd from *The Keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament*, into *Oliver Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.* who was *Installed*, and *Sworn*, Decemb. 16. 1653.

To his Assistance was appointed a Councill of 21. the *Quorum*, 13. By whom immediately upon the Death of the present Protector, should be chosen one to succeed him, (always excepted the *Right Line* from the choice) 'Tis suppos'd, that *Lambert* had an eye upon himself in the reach of That Article, and a particular influence upon the drawing of it, being at That time Popular enough with the Army to hope for any thing. A while after the Establishment of this Traytour, comes forth an *Ordinance*, *Declaring Treasons*; and now his Highness thinks himself in the saddle; especially having beaten the *Dutch* into One Peace, and Treated the *Swede* into Another, which were proclaim'd soon after.

Having run through the *Narrative* of those Considerable Changes, and Confusions, of Power, which interviened betwixt the Murder of a most Gracious Prince, and the appearing Settlement of an Usurping Tyrant, we'll make a little stand here, and look behind us.

Cromwells Ma-  
jorities.

The Two Main Engines that made *Cromwell* Master of the Army, were first, The *Self-denying Ordinance* by which he Worm'd out the *Presbyterians*, and Skrew'd in his own Party: The Second, was The *Vote of March 19. 1646.* for the Disbanding of so many Regiments, and sending Others for Ireland. This Vote was privily procur'd by himself and *Ireton*: which he foresaw must necessarily enflame the Army; and so it did, never to be reconcil'd.

This Breach was the setting up of *Cromwell*: and the Foundation of his succeeding greatness. It was the Impression of *That Vote* that buffed, and purg'd the House in 47. Forced it, in 48. and Dissolv'd it, in 53: after which he call'd Another, that dy'd *Fe lo de se*, and Bequeath'd to his Excellency the Government.

The Foundation of *Cromwells* Greatness.

Had the Devil himself destroy'd that Faction, the Nation would have Thank'd him for't; so 'tis no wonder if his Advance was smooth, and Prosperous: but now He's Up, how to maintain his Power, against a General Odium, and Interest; how to get himself forc'd to exchange That Temporary Title of Protector, for the more Stable, Legal, and desirable Name of King, without discovering his Insatiate Longing for it: This is a Point of Mastery, and Cunning; and Possibly the Thing that break his Heart, was his Dispair to Accomplish it.

The Faction has already trod the Round of Government; The Lords and Commons, outed the King; the Commons, the Lords, the Multitude, the Commons; (and with the Fate of all Rebellious Causes; seeking Rest, but finding None) At last, up goes the Pageantry of a Monarch, *Cromwell*; whose Temper, Straights, and Politicks, shall be the Subject of the next Chapter.

C A P. VI.

The Temper, Straights, and Politicks, of *Cromwel*, during his Protectorship.

THE Character of This Glorious Rebel, is no further my purpose, then as it leads to a right Judgment of his Actions, and the Confusion of his Adorers.

Of strong Natural Parts, I perswade my self he was, though some think otherwise, imputing all his Advantages to Corruption, or Fortune, (which will not be deny'd however to have concurr'd powerfully to his Greatness). Nor do I pretend to collect his Abilities from his Words, any more then the World could his Meaning, save that the more entangled his Discourses were, I reckon them the more Judicious, because the fitter for his Business. His Interest obliging him to a Reserve, for he durst neither clearly Own his Thoughts, nor Totally

*Cromwells* Character.



## A MEMENTO

tally *Disclaim* them; the *One* way endangering his *Design*, and the *Other*, his *Person*. So that the skill of his Part lay in This; neither to be *mistaken* by his *Friends*, nor *understood* by his *Enemies*. By This middle Course he gain'd *Time*, to remove *Obstacles*, and ripen *Occasions*; which to *emprove* and *follow*, was the peculiar *Talent* of that *Monster*.

To these *enablements* to *Mischief*, he had a *Will* so prostitute, and prone, that to express him, I must say, He was made up of *Craft* and *Wickedness*; and all his *Facilities*, nay all his *Passions*, were *Slaves* to his *Ambition*. In fine, he knew no *Other* measure of *Good* and *Bad*, but as things stood in *This* or *That* Relation to his *Ends*; which I the less admire, when I consider that he was brought up in a *Presbyterian School*: where *Honour*, *Faith*, and *Conscience* weigh nothing, further then as they subserve to *Interest*. But enough of *This*.

In the foregoing Chapter we have Plac'd the *Protector* in the *Chair*, but not the *King* in the *Throne*; the *Power* he has already, but wants the *Title*; and, which is worse, he dares not offer at it, being equally affray'd to *own* his *Longing*, or to *miss* it. In This *Distraction* of *Thought*, his *Jealousie* joyns with his *Ambition*; *Sollicitous* on the *One* hand for his *Family*, and on the *Other* for his *Safety*. For his *Family*, in point of *Grandeur*, and for his *Safety* Thus.

After his *Death*, according to the *Instrument*, the *Counsell* is to chuse a *Successour*, and whoever gapes to be the *One*, is suppos'd to wish for the *Other*; which probably they had rather *hasten*, then *wait* for: So that This *Miserable* creature being peyn'd, betwixt the *Hazard* either of *enlarging* his *Power*, or having it thus *dependent*; and the *disdain* of seeing it *limited*, enters into a restless *suspicion* of his *Counsell*, and no way to be quieted but by *depressing* Those that *Rais'd* him. So much for the *first Difficulty*, a *second* follows.

His *Design* had These *Three Grand Enemies*. The *Royalists*, The *Presbyterians*, and the *Common-wealths-Men*: the *Last* of which compos'd the *Grofs* of his *Army*; whom he had so *inured* to the *Gust* of *Popularity*, and *Freedom*, and so *enflam'd* against the *Tyranny* of *King-shp*, that the bare *Change* of the word *Common-wealth*, to *Kingdom*, had been enough to have cast all into a *Revolt*.

These were the main *Impediments* of His *Majesty* that would be; and now we'll touch upon the *Shifts* and *Tricks* his *Highness* us'd to *Remove* them.

Crom;

Cromwell Jealous of his Counsell.

And of his Army.

*Cromwell* having squander'd away his *Money*, and taking occasion from the *Salisbury* Rising in 1654. to Squeeze the *Cavaliers* for more; Kills two Birds with one stone, by Commissioning some of those Persons which he most apprehended in his Counsell, to do his work: whom under the Name of *Major-Generals*, and with a Power at Liberty, (doubtless foreseeing how they would abuse it) he places as *Governours* over the Several *Counties*. These he employs to Levy his barbarous *Decimation*, which when they had done, and by a Thousand Insolencies enraged the People, he laies them aside; being now become, of the most Popular of the Party, the most Abominated Creatures of the Nation..

*Oliver* erects Major-Generals, and then fools them.

Touching the *Royallists*, no good for him was to be hop'd for There, but by Goals, Exile, Selling them for Slaves, *Famishings*, or *Murther*: all which was abundantly provided for, by *Sequestrations*, Pretended Plots, *High-Courts of Justice*, *Spyes*, *Decoies* &c. Nay (for the very *Dispatch* sake) when they should resolve upon the *Massacre*, (which beyond doubt they meant us) No *Cavalier* must be allow'd so much as the least piece of *Defensive Arms*, by an Order of Nov. 24. 1655.

The Persecution of the *Cavaliers*.

No Person suffer'd to keep in his house as *Chaplain* or *School-Master*; any *Sequestred* or *Ejected Minister*, Fellow of a *College*: or *School-Master*, nor suffer his *Children* to be taught by such. Nor any Person of that *Quality* must be permitted to Teach a *School*, either *Publick*, or *Private*; Nor *Preach*, but in his Own *Family*, nor Administer the *Sacraments*, nor *Marry*, nor use the *Common-Prayer book*, &c.

This was the only Party the *Rebels* fear'd and ruin'd; but for the *Presbyterians* they knew they'd never Joyn to help the *King*; and single they were inconsiderable.

The *Common-wealths-Men* finally contented themselves with the Name of a *Common-wealth*, under the Exercise of a *Single Person*; so that by This Method of Engaging one Party, conning at another, and crushing the Third: This Tyrant gave himself the Means and Leisure to fortifie his Interests some other way.

He had already try'd a *Parliament* of his own Call; that met, *Septemb. 3. 1654*. Five or Six dayes are spent in dangerous Debates about the *Government*, and the *Authority* by which they are Convened. This, *Oliver* did not like, and sent them an Appointment to meet him (on the 12.) in the

*Cromwells* Test of the House.

Painted



*Painted Chamber* : where discoursing the Reciprocal ties betwixt Him and his Parliament ; The Fundamentals of the Government, as to a Single Person ; the Succession of Parliaments ; their mutual Interest in the *Abilitia* ; and Liberty of Conscience ; and that These Particulars they were Entrusted to maintain ; concluded, that finding a Design among them to overthrow That Settlement, he was necessitated to appoint a Recognition, for every Man to sign, before he could be re-admitted into the House ; which Recognition was as follows.

The Recognition.

**I** A. B. do hereby Promise and Engage my self to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland : and that according to the Tenure of the Indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in This Present Parliament ; I will not propose, or give my consent to alter the Government, as it is settled in one Single Person and a Parliament.

This was no Conventicle for Cromwell's Turn ; so that after Five Months sitting, This Puppet of a Prince did formally dissolve it, in hope the next might use him better.

His Credit though but small at Home, had better luck abroad ; The Dutch, the Sweed, and then the French, entred a League with him, and the effect of this Conjunction hasten'd his Ruine. I must not overslip that One Condition with the French, was the Extrusion of our Gracious Sovereign, with his Adherents, out of the French Kings Dominions.

Cromwells design upon St. Domingo, disastrous.

Blake makes amends at Tunis.

Flush'd with Success, and Vanity, nothing less serves us now, then the Spaniards part of the West-Indies. By whose advice, it matters not ; but in Decemb. 1654. a Considerable Fleet sets Sail from Ports-Mouth, and about mid-April, 1655. arrives at St. Domingo ; Briefly, the Voyage was disastrous, and those that Scap'd the Fate of That Attempt, dispos'd their After-game for Jamaica. To Ballance This disgrace, Blake made amends at Tunis, firing Nine Frigates in the Port Ferino, and came off fair at last.

His Success against the Plate-Fleet near the Bay of Cadiz.

Olivers nex design was to intercept the Plate-Fleet ; and within four Leagues of the Bay of Cadiz, the English engaged eight Galeons, whereof only One Scap'd, Two were Taken, and the Rest Sunk, Burnt, or Stranded : This disappointment to the Spaniard was a bitter one, and the Success as seasonable to the English ; Yielding them both a Prodigious Booty, and a Dreadful.

*Dreadful Reputation.* But these *Successes* were to *Cromwell*, as a good *Hand*, or two, to a *Young Gamester*; only *Temptations* to a *Course* will ruine him.

While these *Exploits* were driving on, *Abroad*, Others were in the *Forge* at *Home*. Here, to gain *Love*; There, *Awe* and *Credit*, with as much *Money* toward the *Purchase* as the *Fates* pleas'd. Upon the *Royallists*, his *Flatteries* wrought little, as being a *Party* mov'd neither by *Security*, nor *Profit*, (where the *King's* *Interest* was the *Question*.) Both which, they freely *Sacrificed* in their first dutiful *Engagement* with him: and to the last stood firm, through the whole course of *Oliver's* most furious *Extremities*. But other *Instruments* there were of a more tractable and complying *Temper*, and These *Foresooth*, (*Ten*, *Twenty* perhaps in a *Country*) worship'd the *Golden Calf*, and in the Name of the People of *England*, Addressed, Congratulated, [Engaged themselves to stand by and assist him to the Uttermost, in the discharge of the Trust which so remarkably was devolved upon him.] This is the Style of that from *Bucks*.

Addresses.

To these *Appearances* of a general *Good-liking*, were added the *Conjoyn*t-endeavours of his *Dependents* and *Allies*; which being *Numerous* in *Truth*, and *Considerable* by *Employment*, gave no small *Success* and *Support* to his *Ambitious Project*; and *Torturing Greatness*. As by the *Influence* they had upon the *Juncto*, in *Sep.* 1656, more eminently appear'd; consisting of near a 100 *Military Officers*, 40 or 50 of his *Allies*, *Domesticks*, and particular *Creatures*; (I speak the least) beside their *Seconds*: a mixture there was likewise of certain Persons truly *Honourable*, but divers being excluded, and the rest over-voted, their *Interest* came to nothing.

Oliver's Kindred stood his Friends.

These were no *Strangers* to their *Masters* pleasure, and what *That* was, may be collected from the *Voices* they pass'd to please him. The *Main* were these:

1. An *Act* for *Renouncing* and *Annulling* the *Title* of *Charles Stuart* to the *Three Kingdoms*.

2. For the *Securing* of the *Protectors* Person, and preserving the *Peace* of the *Nation*.

3. The *humble Petition and Advice*.] Wherein was plentifully provided whatever might conduce to his *Establishment*, the most material Points being these following. (Only *Protector* should have been *King*, if he had pleas'd.)

D

1. That

The Petition  
and Advice to  
Declare his  
Successor.

1. That under the Name and Style of Lord Protector, &c. He should in his Life-time Declare his Successor, and Govern according to the Petition and Advice, in Matters therein express, and in other things according to the Law of the Land.

2. That he would call Parliaments for the future, Consisting of Two House, &c. ---and Triennial at least.

Oliver's Other  
House.

3. That the Quorum of the Other House be One and twenty, and the Number not above Seventy, Nominated by his Highness, and Approved by that House.

Privy-Council.

4. That the Quorum of his Privy Council be Seven, and the Number not exceeding One and twenty: and that Sitting, the Parliament, the Standing Forces of this Commonwealth be disposed of by the chief Magistrate, with the Consent of both Houses; and in the Intervals, by advice of his Council.

Revenue.

5. That a constant yearly Revenue of Thirteen hundred thousand pounds be forthwith Settled, and no Part thereof to be raised by a Land-Tax: A Million of this Money for the Navy and Army, the rest for the Support of the Government: Other Temporary Supplies being left to the Judgment of the House of Commons.

Cavaliers in-  
capable of  
Office.

6. That all that ever serv'd the King Loyally and Constantly, be made Incapable for ever of any Office or Place of Trust in any of the Three Nations. The Rest is Formality.

To these Propositions, his Highness *A M E N* is not to be doubted, and in Form, May 25. 1657.

The *L O R D P R O T E C T O R* doth Consent.

Here's in the First, his Family Secur'd. In the Second, his Interest; (3. One House consisting of his own Creatures). In the Fourth, the Standing Army is his own; (that is, in the Intervals of Parliaments, which he can Dissolve at pleasure). In the Fifth, a Revenue proposed: And lastly, His Enemies cast at his Feet.

On the Day following (June 26. was presented an Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice: Desiring,

That Forty and One Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or any Five of them, shall be Authorised to Examine the Capacities of Members to be chosen into future Parliaments, and every unqualified Member to forfeit a Thousand pounds, and suffer Imprisonment till he pay it.]

The Forms of several Oaths are likewise offered, to be taken by the Protector, his Council and Members of Parliament; and, his Highness is further desired to Issue forth his Summons in due form  
of

of Law to such as he should think fit to Call to his Other House.  
To all which—

The LORD PROTECTOR doth Consent.

Divers Bills his *Highness* pass'd, that his people scarce thank'd him for; *Money-Bills* very many, and so the Thing was Adjourn'd till the Twentieth of Jan. next.

But we must not forget the Solemn Investiture of the Protector, by Authority of Parliament; (forsooth) and yet we must not make the Bauble Proud neither, by saying too much on't.

The Foolery was perform'd in Westminster Hall, where his *Highness* was presented with a Coat: to wit, *A Robe of Purple-Velvet*, lin'd with *Ermins*; *A Bible*, Gilt and Bossed; *a Sword*: And lastly, *a Scepter of Massie Gold*. When he was Girt and Vested, he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and took an Oath, (not the First he had broken by many a Thousand) which being dispatch'd, Mr. Manton Consecrated the Independent Poppery, with a Presbyterian Blessing; after which his *Highness* being Publish'd and Proclaim'd, the Comedy concluded.

Cromwell Installed Protector.

But Comedy and Mr. Manton will scarce agree in the same Period: and why? Let us *Expostulate*. Does not a Counterfeit or a *Mimique* better become a Stage than a Pulpit? Or is it not as lawful to see Honest Lacy play a snivelling *Schismatick*, as a perfidious bloody Traitor to sustain the Person of a Gracious Prince? Yet here his *Holiness* Acts his Part himself; (or in the *Gibberish* of the Brethren) performs the Duty of the Day: Pronouncing a Blessing upon the horrid and ridiculous Spectacle.

Did not Mr. Manton know that Cromwell was an *Impostur*; and that the Purple Robe he ware, belong'd not to his Shoulders? How as a Minister of the Gospel then, could he Officiate to such a piece of Pageantry? It minds me of *Mazarine's Kinsman*, that upon a Good-Friday, in Derision, Crucified a Frog.

He knew moreover, that he was a Murderer, and an Usurper, and that the Gaudy Bible then before him, was but to Him the Book he Conjur'd by. How as a Christian could he own the Augury?

Further, He knew whose Blood he had Spilt, whose Rights he usurped; and that the murder'd Father, and his injur'd Successor were Both his SOVERAIGNS: The Ceremonial Sword and Scepter likewise he knew the meaning of. How as a Subject then could he submit to Countenance so Undutiful an Undertaking?

Lastly, He knew that the *Design* was (in *Truth* utterly *Atheistick*, but in *shew*) *Independem*. How as a *Presbyterian* could he agree to't ?

For all this now, Mr. *Manton* may thank himself. 'Tis true, he did Exceeding well, on the late *Fast*, to reckon *Drunkenness*, and *Prophaness* among Those *Crying Sins* that draw God's *Judgements* upon a People, and Earnestly to press a *Reformation*. But, how come *Plays* into the *Rank* of these *Provoking Sins* ? Or, what does *Histrionastix* in the *Pulpit* ? [*The Theaters* (it seems) are so *Throng'd* with *Coaches*, his *Greatness* can scarce pass the *Streets* : Those *Temples of Satan*, &c.] And what would he now have the *World* believe of Those that *Frequent* Them ? Is not this, *Lashing* of a *Party*, under the disguise of *taxing* a *Vice* ? or Certainly, 'tis a *Strange Conscience*, that adores *Catiline* in a *State*, and *Scruples* him upon a *Stage*. Would not a *Whip* on the *Other* hand do well sometimes ?

I would go *Five Miles barefoot* to hear a *Presbyterian* Preach, that the first *War* in 1642. Rays'd by the *LORDS*, and *COMMONS* was a *REPELLION*.

It must not be supposed that the first *Tender* of the *Petition* and *Advice* under the *Regall* *Stile*, was without *Cromwells* *Privity*, and *Liking* ; and beyond doubt, the *Title* was a *Bait* he *Lick'd* his lips at : but the *Old Fox* durst not *Bite* ; and he had Reason to be shy, finding how great a *Flame* the first *Bruit* of the *Proposition* had Rays'd among the *Sectaries* : That very *Ninth* of *Aprill*, when a *Committee* was appointed, to treat his *Highness* *Scruples* into a *Satisfaction*, being design'd for a *Tumultuary Attempt* upon his *Government* ; and divers of the *Plotters* apprehended.

'Twas *This*, that put the *Gentleman* to his *Hums* and *Haws* ; that makes him *Sick* to day, *Late* to morrow, *Busie* the next ; and when he speaks, *Chewe false*, or utter *Oracles* : all these *put-offs*, tending only to gain *Time*, to find how the *Tide* serves, and Taste how the *Proposal* Relishes. At Last, the *Crafty* *Sir*, fearing the distance too wide for a *single Step*, resolves rather to make *Two* on't ; and to content himself at present to be *Install'd* *Protector*, with such *Additional Powers* as were then offer'd, leaving the *Complement* of his *Regality* to the next meeting.

During



During the *Prorogation*, *Cromwell* patch'd up his *Other House*, Olivers Other House. who took their seats (the Term of the Adjournment being expir'd) in the *Lords House*. Such *Peers* they were, as in good Truth the *Commons* were not only *asham'd* of, but gall'd to see the Affront they had done Themselves, by their own Follies Enraged the Moderation, Whose Names were only mix'd to Grace the *Rabble*. Commons.

And now forsooth the *Mushrome-Fobs* begin to talk of *Dignities* and *Priviledges*. *Prodigious Impudence* and *Folly*! Two of these Fellows *Pride*, and *Berkstead* quarrell'd upon the Bench at *Hicks* his *Hall*, about the meaning of [the *P R E A M B L E* that went *A F T E R*.] ThenewPeers.

The *Commons* (though a little late) resent'd the Indignity of *Truckling* under such *Cattell*, and not enduring an *Upper-House* so like a *Bear-Garden*, they presenly took in their formerly Secluded Fellowes, and fell to work upon the *Authority* of That *New Creation*, not sparing His that *Plac'd* them there. The Commons pick a Quarrell with the Other House. This course would soon have bred ill blood; and *Cromwell*, after 15 *Dayes* tryal of their Humour, did *Prudently Dissolve* them.

From that Degree of *Confidence*, to *Fall* beyond *Resource*, and from That point of *Power*, to become *Ridiculous*; did but demonstrate to him the *Vaniry* of his *Ambitious Hopes*, and that he aim'd at Things *Impossible*.

Of all the *Cross-Encounters* of his life, This sank the Deep-*Olivers heart-breaking cross.* est, and the Impression of That Anguish, went with him to his Grave; as may be fairly Gather'd from the wild disproportion of his following Actions: which, well consider'd, will appear rather the Products of *Revenge*, *Rage*, and *Despair*, then the form'd *Regular Politicks* of his wonted Reason.

Yet that he might not seem to abandon the pursuit, and utterly despond; some Five weeks after the breaking up of the late Assembly, The *Major* of *London* and his *Brethren* were summon'd to *White-Hall*, and there (*March. 2. 1658.*) the *Citizens* are told a Formal Tale of the King of *Scots*; 8000 *Men* in *Readiness*, and 22 *Vessels* to *Transport* them. *A General Plot*, The *City* to be *fired*, and twenty Terrible Things, to start and Settle a New *Militia*, which in some Six weeks time was perfected. He Fools the City of London.

And Now from all Parts are to be procur'd *Addresses*:  
which

which are no other then *Leagues Offensive*, and *Defensive* Betwixt the *Faction*, and the *Usurper*.

Addresses.

Sweet *London* leads the way; Then *Mitchell's*, *Ashfield's*, *Cobbert's*, Regiments: The Officers of the *English-Army*; and the *Commission-Officers* in *Flanders*. All these in *March*.

In *April*; the Officers of *Biscoes* Regiment: and the *Commission Officers* of the *Militia* in *Suffolk*, *Leicester*, *Suffex*, and my *Country-men* of *Norwich*. After These, follow the *Souldiery* of *South-Wales*, and *Daniels* Regiment. The *Well-affect-ed* of *Nottingham*, &c.

These *Numerous* and *Pretending Applications*, were but *False* *Glosses* upon his *Power*; and *Cromwell* was too *wise* to think them *Other*; *Gain'd* by *Contrivement*, *Force*, or at least, *Importunity*. Half a *Score* pitifull wretches call themselves the *People* of such or such a *County*, and here's the *Total* of the *Reckoning*. 'Tis *Rumour'd* that his *Daughter* *Cleypoole*, in the *Agonies* of her *Death-Sickness* rang him a *Peal* that troubled him. Whether 'twere so, or no, 'tis past *Dispute*, his *Grand Distress* was for the *Loss* of *That* which while he hop'd to gain, made the most *horrid* of his *helpfull Sins*, seem *Solaces* and *Pleasures*.

Barbarous  
Cruelties.

While by the *Artifice* of These *Addresses*, his broken *Interest* is pieced as *Fair* as well it may, his *Care* is *Divided* between the *engaging* of *One Party*, and the *Destroying* of *Another*. And under the *Masque* of a *pressing* and *Pious* *Necessity*, he brea's out into such *Enormous Cruelties*, such *Wanton*, and *Cin-cited Butcheries*, that, had not his *Brain* been *Crackt*, as well as his *Conscience* *Sear'd*, he would not have gone so *Phantastical* a way to the *Devill*. Some of the *Martyrs* *Hearts* were *quick* and *Springing* in the *Fire*, (as I had it from several *Eye-Witnesses*). *Ashton* did but *desire* to be *Beheaded*, and it was *seemingly Granted*, but the *Order* kept till 'twas too late, and Then *tendered* with a *Jeere*.

*London* was made the *Altar* for These *Burnt Offerings*: God grant *That City* be not at last *purg'd* by *Fire*, (I mean, before the *General Conflagration*) for Those *Polluting Flames*. The *Crime* was *Loyalty*, and made out against them, more by the doubling *Artifice* of *Mercenary Tongues*, than any *Pregnancy* of *Proofs*.

What could This *Furious* and *Inhumane Rigour* avail *That* miserable *Politician*, further then as it *Gratify'd* his *Malice*, and  
*Revenge*,



*Revenge*, for his *Lost Hopes*, and *Fortunes* ! Without a *Pament*, or somewhat like one, he *Perishes* for want of *Money* ; and an *Assembly* to his mind *throughout*, he utterly *despairs* of : so that no *Remedy* remains, but by extremities of *Violence* and *Blond* to do his *Business*. And to That end, he faintly labours the *new Modelling* of his *Army*, a way, which he had found by *Long Experience*, made *Enemies*, as well as *Friends* : Those *certain*, and *Implacable* ; These, prone to *change* their *Interest*, and without *Money*, *True* to *None*. In fine, his *Fate* was *Irresistible*, and his *Tormented Soul* *Inconsovable*. He *Sinks*, *Sickens*, and *Dies* : Upon the *Day* of his grand *Anniversary*, for *Dunbar*, and *Worcester*. (Sept. 3.)

The *Night* before his *Death*, arose a *Tempest*, that seem'd to signify the *Prince* of the *Ayre* had some great work in hand : and 'tis *Remarkable*, that during his *Usurpation*, scarce any *Eminent Action* pass'd without a *furious Storm*. Cromwells Death.

I have drawn This *Chapter* to a length beyond my intention, and should be too too *Tedious* to run through all his *Wiles*, which were No other than an *Habitual Craft*, diffus'd throughout the entire *Course* of his *Tyranny*. But certain *General rules* he impos'd upon himself, which must not be omitted.

One was, to *Buy Intelligence* at any *Rate*, by That means making every *Plot* bear it's own *Charges*. Olivers Maximet.

2. Never to *Engage Two Parties* at once ; but to *Flatter*, and *Formalize* with the *One*, till he *Ruin'd* the *Other* : Which was the *Reason* that he durst never make the *Presbyterians* *Desperate*, for fear of *Necessitating* them to side with the *King*.

3. To *extirpate* the *Royallists* by all possible means, as *Poverty*, *Bondage*, *Executions*, *Transplantations* ; and a *Devise* he had to dispose of several *Levies*, out of That *Party*, Some to serve the *Spaniard*, Others the *French*, that they might be sure to meet in *Opposition*, and cut One the Others *Throats*.

4. He ever made his *Army* his own *Particular Care*.

5. To keep the *Nation* in a perpetual *Hatred*, and *Jealousie* of the *Kings Party* ; which he promoted either by *forging* of *Plots* ; or *Procuring* Them.

So much for *Olivers Temper*, *Straights*, and *Politicks*.

## C A P. VII.

*A short Account from the Death of the Tyrant Oliver, to the Return of Charles the Second, (whom God Preserve from his Fathers Enemies.*

THE Heart of the Cause was broken long since, and now the Soul of it is gone; though the Protectorate be formally devolv'd to Richard, as the *Declar'd Successor* to his Father. Whether *Declar'd* or not, was (I remember) at That time a Question. But whether Thus or So, it Matters not. *Oliver is Dead*, his Son Proclaim'd, and at night *Ron-fires*, with all the Clamor, Bustle, and Confusion that commonly attends those Vulgar Jollities. The Souldiers took the *Alarm*, and in my hearing threatned divers for daring to express their Joy so unseasonably: but they came off with telling them that they were glad they had got a *New Protector*, not that they had lost the *Old*. In Truth, the *New Protector* was look'd upon as a Person more *Inclinable* to do Good, than *Capable* to do *Mischief*, and the *Exchange Welcome*, to all that Lov'd his Majesty.

By the *Court-Interest* (as they call'd it,) *Addresses* thick and threefold were brought in, to *Condole*, and *Gratulate*; but Those Compliments had no *Sap* in them: The *Dutch*, the *Swede*, and the *French*, sent their *Embassadours* on the same Errand. And now the *Funerals* come on; A *Solemn*, and *Expensive Pageantry*; yet, in my Conscience, the *Chief-Mourners* were his *Higness Drapers*.

These Ceremonies over, to keep the Wheel in Motion, a Supply was Resolv'd upon for the King of *Swede*, and little further of Moment, before Jan. 27. When (in the Language of the Time) met *Richards Parliament*. The *First*, and *Last* of his *Reign*.

It cost These people some time to agree the Powers of the *Chief-Magistrate*, and the *New Peerage*, which came to this result, that *Richard* should be *Recognized*; but with *limitations*, consistent with the *Rights of Parliament*, and *People*: and that for quiet sake [they would transact with the Persons then sitting in the *Other House*, as an *House of Parliament* during that *Session*.]

The

Richard Recognized upon condition.

The *House* proceeded by Degrees to make dangerous Inspections into the *Militia*, the *Revenue*; to look into the Exorbitances of *Major Generals*, to threaten the *Excise*; and finally, by all Popular pretences, to engage the Multitude; Effectually against both *Protector* and *Army*, enduring the Government neither of the *One*, nor of the *Other*.

Whereupon, the *Officers* set up a Council at *Wallingford-House*, the *Protector* advises at *White-hall*, and *April* 6. 1659. comes a Paper to *Richard* from the General Council of *Officers*, Entituled, A *Representation* and *Petition*, &c. importing, [the great danger the Good Old Cause is in, from Enemies of all sorts, the Poverty of the Souldiery; the Persecution of Tender consciences, &c. which Particulars they Petition his Highness to represent to the Parliament, with their Desire of Speedy Supply, and Certainty of Pay for the future: Declaring likewise their Resolution, with their Lives and Fortunes to stand-by, and assist his Highness and Parliament, in the plucking the Wicked out of their places wheresoever they may be discovered, &c.]

The Paper boded a Purge, at least. Sign'd it was by 230 *Officers*, presented by *Fleet-wood*; Publish'd throughout the *Army*, and followed soon after with a Day of Humiliation: (the never-failing Sign of Mischief at hand.)

In this Juncture, Each of the Three Parties was Enemy to the Other Two, saving where Either Two were united to Maintain themselves against the Third: and All Three of Them Enemies to the Good of the Nation.

Each of the  
Three Parties  
Enemy to the  
Other Two.

The *House* being Bias'd for a *Common-wealth*, and not yet enabled to go Through with it, Dreaded the *Army* on the one hand, and Hated the *Single-Person* on the Other.

*Richard*, finding his Power limited by the *Members*, and Env'y'd by the *Officers*, willing to please Both, and Resolv'd to Hazard nothing, becomes a *Common Property* to the *House* and *Army*; a *Friend* to Both by Turns; *Theirs* to day, *T'others* to Morrow, and in all Tryals Meekly submitting to the Dispensation.

The *Army* on the other side had their *Protector's Measure* to a Hair; and behind him they Stalk'd to Ruffle That Faction in the *House*, that was now grown so Bold with the *Military Interest*: and it behov'd them to be quick, with (as the Case stood Then) so Popular an Enemy.

The Army  
Ruffles the  
House.

The *Members* kept their Ground, and *April* 18. pass'd These following Votes.

E

First,

The House  
Opposes the  
Army.

*First, That, during the sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Counsell, or meeting of the Officers of the Army without Direction, Leave, and Authority of his Highnesse the Lord Protector, and Both Houses of Parliament.*

*Secondly, That no Person shall Have and Continue any Command, or Trust in any of the Armies, or Navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to Subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament, of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedom in their Debates and Counsels.*

Upon these Peremtory Votes, Richard Faces about, joyning his small Authority, to forbid their Meetings; and great Assurances are Enterchang'd, to stand the Shock, of any Opposition.

Richard dis-  
solves his Par-  
liament.

Two or three days they stood upon their Guards, continuing in that snarling Posture, till April 22. when Richard at the suit (or rather menace) of Disborough and his Fellows, signs a Commission to Dissolve his Parliament; which to prevent, the Members Adjourn for Three days; and to avoid the shame of falling by an Enemy, the Catoe's kill themselves. For at the Three days end, they find the Dore shut, and a Guard upon the Passage, to tell them, *They must Sit no more; Their Dissolution being also Published by Proclamation.*

And is laid a-  
side himself.

His Highness steps aside next; and now the Army undertakes the Government. They Modell, Cast about, Contrive, and, after some Ten Days fooling with the Politiques, they found it was much a harder matter to Compose a Government, than to Disorder it, and at This Plunge, besought the Lord [after their Wandrings and Back-slidings, to shew them where they turned out of the Way, and where the Good Spirit left the Good Old Cause, that through Mercy they might Return and give the Lord the Glory.

The Army ac-  
knowledge  
their backslid-  
ings.

And invite the  
old Parliament  
to sit again.

At last, they call to mind, that the Long Parliament sitting from 1648. to 1653. were eminent Assertours of that Cause, and had a Special Presence of God with them: Wherefore they Earnestly desire Those Members to Return to the Exercise of their Trust, &c. ]

This is the Tenor of that Canting Declaration, which the Army-Officers presented Lenthall (the Good-Old-Speaker) with, at the Rolls, May 6. in the Evening; where a Resolve was taken.

taken by several of the Members, to meet next morning in the Painted Chamber, and There to advise about their Sitting.

They met accordingly, and made a shift, by Raking of Goals, to get together a *Quorum*, and so they sneak'd into the House of Commons, and There Declar'd for a *Common-wealth*, passing a Vote expressly against the Admission of the Members, Secluded in 1648.

This Device was *fa-fetch'd*, and not *long-liv'd*, but these were Old Stagers, and no ill Menagers of their Time.

To make short; they Erect a Counsel of State, Place, and Displace; mould their *Faction*; settle the Godly, appoint their Committees, and so soon as ever they are Warm in their Gears, begin, where they left in 1653; *Fleeing* the Nation, and *Flaying* the Cavaliers, as briskly, as if 'twere but the Good-morrow to a *Six-Tears Nap*.

But the sad Wretches were filthily mistaken, to think Themselves brought in again to do their own Business; for the Army makes bold to Cut them out their work in a *Petition* of May 12. containing 15. Proposals, desiring,

First; a *Free-state*. ] 2. *Regulation of Law and Courts*. ] The Armies  
3. *An Act of Oblivion*, since April 19. 1653. ] 4. *All Lawes,* Petition.  
&c. since 1653. to stand good until particularly Replea'd. ] 5. *Pub-*  
*lique Debts* since 1653. to be Paid. ] 6. *Liberty of Worship*, &c.  
not extending to Popery or Prelacy. ] 7. *A Preaching Ministry*. ]  
8. *The Reformation of Schools, and Universities*. ] 9. *The Ex-*  
*clusion of Cavaliers, and loose Persons from Places of Power, or*  
*Trust*. ] 10. *The Employment of the Godly in such Places*. ] 11. *To*  
*provide for a Succession of the Legislative Authority*. ] 12. *That*  
*Charles Fleetwood be Commander in Chief at Land*. ]  
13. *That the Legislative Power be in a Representative of the*  
*People; and of a Select Senate, Coordinate in Power*. ] 14. *That*  
*the Executive-Power, be in a Counsell of State*. ] 15. *That*  
*the Debts of his Late Highness, and his Father, contracted*  
*since Decemb. 15. 1653. may be satisfi'd, and Tweny Thou-*  
*sand Pounds per Annum settled upon him, Half for Life,*  
*and half to him and his Heirs for ever.*



The Principal point was *Fleetwoods* Command, which they agreed to; only reserving the *Supreme* Power to *Themselves*, and constituting the *Speaker*; *Generalissimo*; in the *Name* of the *Parliament*: which wariness shewed that they understood one-another.

For a while, the *Junto* treated the Army like *Apes*, with a *Bit* and a *Knock*, *Flattering* some and *Removing* others, as they saw expedient: Particularly the Two Sons of the Late *Ursurper*, were fairly laid aside, Submitting and Resigning in Excellent Form, and without making two words on't.

The *High* and *Mighty* did not, all this time, forget, that the Key of the Work, was *Money*; nor in Truth did they well consider, that they were call'd back by the *Army* only to *Raise* it. But *On* they went through *Thick* and *Thin*, and such *Ignoble*, *fordid* Courses they took to *Levy* it, that, in Effect, to Stop the *Souldiers* Mouths, they brake their own Necks; the Nation not enduring any Longer that such a pilfering Covy of *Pick-Pockets* should call *Themselves* a *Parliament*.

This Universal *Hatred*, and *Disdain* of their Proceedings, provoked a General Seizure of Men, Horse, and Arms: and in Effect, the Plot was General; but what by *Treachery*, *Delays*, *Rabbling*, *Disappointments*, and *Scruples* of taking in the Royal Party, (by those that never meant His Majesty, or his Friends should be the better for't) the whole was *Dash'd*.

I well remember one Particular, in That Transaction, that pass'd my Understanding, and Methought smelt of Treason. It was extreemly labour'd, that the King might be perswaded to come Over; and That too, before any Port was secured, or *Men* Embodied, on the bare *hopes* of the Design, to engage his Sacred Person.

After the *Cheshire-Rout*, *Lambert* Retires to his House at *Craven*, and there ('tis thought) contrives the Ruine of the *Rump*. Which unforeseeing Creature, (dreaming of nothing Less) flies higher now then ever, Imposing upon the *House*, and the *Militia*, an Oath of *Abjuration*, not only Renouncing the Title of *Charles Stuart*, but the whole Line of the Late King *James*, And then besides *Excise*, *Customs*, *Forfeitures*, and *Confiscations*, out comes an *Assessment* of 100000 l. per *Men-sem*. They *dis-incorporate* the City of *Chester*, &c.

In the *Carrier* of their head-strong, and unbridled Fury, the first Check they receiv'd, was from a *Petition* and *Proposals* then

The Faction  
flies high.

The Rump  
and the Army  
Clash.

then on foot in *Lambert's Army*. Whereupon they Order *Alshfield, Cobber, and Duckensfield*, (Three of the Principal Abettours of it) to bring in the Original Paper, which was accordingly done, and Caus'd this Vote,

*That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by Parliament, is needless, chargeable and dangerous to the Common-wealth.*

Upon this Vote, the Officers appear'd to acquiesce; but *Octob. the 5.* Matters were re-enforced, *Disborough* presenting the House with a *Representation, and Petition*, from the *Generall Councell of the Army*. For which, from the Teeth outwards, the Officers had Thanks.

The *Conventicle* and the *Army* began now to speak *Englisb*, and the *Members* seeing their *Dissolution* at hand, however cast This Block in the *Armies way*; *Enacting*,

*That it should be adjudg'd High-Treason for any Person or Persons after the Eleventh of Octob. 1659. to Raise Monies without the Peoples Consent in Parliament.*

This being passed; They *Uncommission'd Nine* of the *Army-Officers*; to wit, *Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Alshfield, Cobbert, Creed, Packer, and Barrow*. They voyd'd *Fleetwoods Command* also, *Investing the Command of the Army in Seven Persons, himself being one, and any Three to be a Quorum.*

Hereupon the House adjourns, and *Hazelbrigg, Morly and Walton* (Three of the Seven) repair to the *Speakers Chamber*, forthwith dispatching Orders to Draw their Troops together. The *Army-Party* do the like, and March to the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*, (their Appointed *Rendezvous*) where The Two Parties for That Night and part of the next day made Faces at One another; and finally, the *Souldiery* dismiss'd the *Senate*. The Rump thrown out.

Now was the Government once again in the *Army*; who after Thirteen days deliberation how to bestow it, *Octob. 26.* Disposed of it to a *Committee of Safety*, consisting of 23 Persons: *Empower'd at Large*; to advise upon Occasion with the Principal Officers of the *Army*; and within Six-weeks time, to bring in a Form of Government. Their Reign was short and troublesom; as 'tis reported, *Feak* told Sir *Harry Kane* upon his *Unction*, that his was like to be. They make *Fleetwood* their Commander in Chief, and constitute a New *Militia*.

The Army settles a Committee of Safety.

Scarce.

## A MEMENTO.

General M.  
Secures Scot-  
land.

Scarce were these Worthies warm in their Seats, but the News comes that *Scotland's* in Disorder, and *Barwick* in a wrong hand. Whereupon *Lambert* marches Northward; soon after which, comes on a *Treaty*, that gave General *Monk* (now *Duke of Albemarle*) leisure to purge his Army, and to put *Scotland* in a Posture of Security. By These Delays, and want of Monys. *Lambert's* Army Moulders away; and briefly *London* is left so Thin, that Sir *Harry Vane's* Privy List of *Congregationalists* was the danger they most Apprehended.

The first step toward their Deliverance, was a *Petition* desiring the Assistance of the Common-Counsell for the Procurement of a Free-Parliament: Promoted by the Honest-Part of the City, and Cross'd by some Factious Magistrates of the *Wallingfort* Leaven.

*Hewson's* In-  
fence toward  
the City.

This Baffle did but more Incense the Petitioners, and upon Monday, Decemb. 5. Horse and Foot were Commanded into the City to hinder the prosecution of it. Where, by surprize, *Hewson* the Cobler knocks Two or Three Citizens on the head, barbarously wounding and affronting others, till at last, Multitudes being drawn together, and ready to fall in among them (where not a *Red-Coat* could have scap'd without a Miracle) the Quarrel, forsooth, was taken up by some of the *Formalities*, and then excus'd, to the Committee of Safety, as if the fault had been the Cities. The Army had at this time their Guards in *Pauls*, and *Gresham-Colledge*.

*Hazelrigg* sei-  
zes *Portsmouth*

During these Broyles, *Hazelrigg*, *Morty*, and *Watson*, possess themselves of *Portsmouth*, and the Forces employ'd to reduce it, joyn with them. The Fleet drives the same Interest likewise: only the Troops in *London* were at a stand, and fair for any Purchaser, but the Opportunity was slipp'd.

The Rump sits  
again.

Upon the 26. of Decemb. the Rump sits once again, and Empowers seven Commissioners, or any Three of them, to Command the Army; Here, the Secluded Members of 1648, put in for their Right of Sitting; whereupon a Vote is pass'd for taking the Case of Absent Members into Consideration, upon the fifth of January next; and upon the Day appointed, they Resolve,

*That the Members Discharg'd from Voting, or Sitting in 1648. and 49. do stand duly Discharg'd by Judgement of Parliament, and that Writs do Issue forth for New in their Places.*

And

And now They think their Game Cocksure, having already Voted the Disbanding of Lambert's Army; Sealed their Commission of One and Thirty; and Offer'd Grace to the Revolted Officers, (*Lambert himself, by Name*) that would lay down before the Ninth of January; whereupon, *Lambert's Forces disperse, He himself submits, and the General receives an Invitation to London.*

Lambert and his Party submit.

In Conclusion, after Many Indignities cast upon the Honest Part of the Nation, for desiring a Free-Parliament, by That wretched Conventicle, that intended only to Perpetuate it self; The General arrives at London, Feb. 3. and upon the 7. comes out the 100000 l. Tax, which produced a Common-Counsell the day following to advise upon it: where it was Resolv'd, To adhere to a former Vote of the Court in the Negative. This Refusal puzzled the Counsell of State, who without being Masters of the City, and of Money, were able to do little; so that they forthwith Order'd the Reducing of the City, by Emprisoning half a Score of their Citizens; and, upon another Denyal, to take away their Posts, and Chains, and destroy their Gates and Portcullisses; which was accordingly Executed, but with such Regret, that thereupon they lodg'd the Government of the Army in Five Commissioners, (the General being One) with Evident Design to wipe him of his Employment. But Their Ingratitude wrought little with him, whose Actions were only steer'd by the Compass of Loyalty and Prudence. So that having humour'd the People at Westminster, till they had made themselves sufficiently Odious, and abundantly try'd the Affections of the City to his Design in hand: Upon the 11 of Feb. he gave the House to understand the Necessity of their timely Dissolution, in order to the right of Successive Parliaments; the very hopes of which Release gave the People a Joy, to the Degree of Madness.

The City refuse to Levy Monies.

The Rump of-fended with the City.

Upon the 21 were re-admitted the Secluded Members of 1648. by whom were Writs Issued out for a Representative, to meet upon the 25 of April 1660. and March 16 on 1659. they formally Dissolve themselves, Committing the Government in that Interval, to a Counsel of State. Upon the day Appointed, the Convention meets, but not altogether so Deav'd as by the Qualifications was intended; Excluding Father and Son of such as had serv'd the King, from the Election. In fine, the Major Part of that Assembly, according

The Secluded Members re-admitted.

to

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to their Duty, gave the King his own again, without those Shackles and Conditions which the *Qualifiers* would have Impos'd upon his Majesty: Upon whose *Legal* and *Imperial* Freedom, depends the *Safety* and *Well-being* of his People.

## C A P. VIII.

*The Usurper Oliver was principally distress'd by the War with Spain, and his Standing Army.*

WE have now brought *Rebellion* from the *Cradle* to the *Grave*; We have seen it *Triumphant*, and now we see it in the *Dust*, subjected at the Feet of our Most Gracious Sovereign, to account for the Blood of his Royal Father. Be it our Business next to enquire, *What* hindred *Oliver* from Establishing himself? Upon what *Reason of State*, *Cause*, *Error*, or *Necessity*, that prosperous *Usurper* fail'd.

But some will not allow he fail'd; as if the sole *Fatality* of the *Cause* was his *Decease*; and the *Design* only miscarried through the ill *Manage* of a weak *Successor*. For granted; by good Order, it might have been *Cuddled up*, and kept above ground a little longer: But still it seems to Me, that before *Oliver* Dy'd, the *Cause* was *Bed-rid*, and *Hettick*, past Recovery.

*Cromwell's Rise to the Sovereignty.*

*Opinion* is Free; any *Mans* as *Mine*, and *Mine* as any *Mans*: so that submitting my *Reasons* to the *Wise*, and Recommending my *Weakness* to the *Charitable*, I proceed.

*Cromwell* did wisely to take his *Rise* to the *Sovereignty* upon the *Necks* of those *Usurpers* whom he cast out in 1653. For in the same Action, he *Oblig'd* the *People*, *Master'd* his *Enemies*, and *Fill'd* his *Pockets*. Yet were not those Means that *advanc'd* the *Tyrant*, sufficient to *Establish* him.

*What hindred his Establishment.*

One *Obstacle* was the *Inconsistence* of his *Dollrine* with his *Design*: for the same Arguments that *Rais'd* him, *Ruin'd* him. The *People* were instructed to *Destroy* Kings, not to set them *Up*: and beside, he that had so many *Sharers* in the *Hazzards* of the *Rebellion*, could not fail of some *Competitors* for the *Benefit* of it.

Further,



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Further, he had no considerable Party *sure* to his Interest; and all, but his Meer Creatures and *Albies*, were utter Enemies to it. The City Hated him for their Loss of Trade; the Country, for their Taxes; the Royalists, for his Rebellion, and <sup>He w<sup>as</sup> Gene- rally Hated.</sup> Cruelty; the Presbyterians, for his Breach of Covenant, (That is, for not destroying the King after *Their Way*); The Levellers, for his Ambition; and, in fine, all the hope he had, was to *New-Modell* an Army to his purpose; that fail'd him too at last, for want of Money, and Credit to maintain it. Which *Want* was chiefly hasten'd, and procur'd by his precipitate Breach with Spain, together with the Necessity of keeping up a Standing Army.

The Former of These was doubtless his Mistake; (or rather a Temerity scarce advised upon.) For having brought the Hollander to his Knees, (the only Stranger he had then to fear) and after That, *shak'd hands* with him; his next Course should have been by Thrift and Popularity to Ingratiate himself at Home, and not by a Rambling, Needless; and Expensive War, to squander away the life-blood of the Nation, and in That Indigent Extremity of the State, to make Ducks and Drakes with the Publick Treasure. Nor was the Consequence less Fatal to him, than was the Enterprize (to a common Eye) Imprudent: the hopes of carrying his Design, in no wise Countervailing the *risque* he ran of losing all he had Got, in case he missed it.

I might Instance in a Thousand ways of Profusion, and Oppression Common to all Usurpers, both Practis'd by Him, and exposing him to great Necessities, but I shall rather bestow the rest I have to say, upon the Fatality of that Tyrant's Condition; Which forced him to make use of for his Safety, the greatest of all Dangers, to wit, *A Standing Army*. A Standing Army dangerous.

For Order sake, We'll first Consider, Upon what Pretense, and to what end 'twas Rais'd.

In the Next Place; We'll see what it produc'd, and weigh the Benefits with the Inconveniences.

Lastly; We'll look into the probable Effects, and Influence of it; as related to the English Temper, Custom, and Government.

To the first; what I here call a Standing Army, was but the Improvement of a Slight Temporary Force rais'd, (in pretense at first) as an Expedient against Plots, (being indeed it self the Greatest) but Encreas'd, Continued, and Carried on, by Policy, The Rise of Cromwells Standing Army.

Exalt Collect.  
Pag. 44.

Ibid.

and Power. This Project came from the *Cabale* in 1641. Couch'd under the Notion of *A Guard for the House of Commons*: [*Who conceiv'd that they could not with the Safety of their Persons, (upon which the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom did then depend) sit any longer Unarmed, and Unguarded*] -- so great were their [*Apprehensions, and just Fears of mischievous Designs, to ruine and destroy them*].

This was the Popular Colour for that *Guard*; *Plots*, and the *Safety* of the *Publick*. Where the *Plot* was, in *Truth*; and where the *Real Danger*; may be gather'd from the *Practises* of Those *Armies*, whereof The *Guard* aforesaid was but the *Rise and Foundation*. (And That's the point we handle next.)

The Consequences of the House of Commons Guard.

The setting of This little Force a foot, was a fair Step toward the *Militia*; One *Guard* begetting Another; and the same Reason standing good, for the *Augmenting*, and *Upholding* of Those *Troops*, which was employ'd for the first *Raising* of them. The *Parliament* was first in *Danger*; the *City*, Next; and Then the *Nation*: and as their *Jealousies* Encreas'd, so mult Their *Forces*, till by Degrees they grow to an *Army*. The *King*, and his *Adherents*, they call the *Common-Enemy*; whom they *Invade* and *Vanquish*.

Here's their work done in short; what have they now to fear? Only *New-Modelling*, or *Disbanding*. A blessed Translation of the *Government*, from the *Rule of the Law*, to the *Power of the Sword*! and There to abide, till One *Army* be remov'd by Another: That is, the *Tyranny* abides; tho' under ever a *Formes*, and *Tyrants*.

Our *LEGIONS* of the *Reformation*, were Rais'd by certain *Rebellious Lords*, and *Commons*; and Seconded by the *City of London*. We'll see now, how they behav'd themselves towards their *Masters* and *Friends*.

The Effects of a Seething Army.

In 1647. the *Army Reformes*, and Purges the *House*; Presses their *Dissolution*. Seizes their General *Pointz* in the *North*; Squeezes and Menaces the *City of London*; Marches up to it, and in *Triumph* through it. Takes Possession of the *Tower*; Charges the *Mayor* with divers *Aldermen* and *Citizens*, of *High-Treason*. Alters their *Militia's*, and *Common-Counsel*; and finally, gives the *Law* to the *House*, and That to the *Nation*.

In Decemb. 1648. the *Army* gives the *House* another *Purge*; and the year following, *Cromwell* himself had like to have been out-trick'd by the *Levellers* about *Banbury*.

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In 1653. The Army Casts off the Old Conventicle, and up-  
goes Oliver; who calls Another; only to get a Tax and  
Tithes: and when They had done the One half, and made way  
to the Oser; off goes That too. The Next was call'd in  
1654. another after That in 1656. and Both were serv'd  
with the same Sauce.

If Cromwell could as easily have moulded the Army, as That  
did the House, his business had been done with half the Cere-  
mony; but Money was Their business, and Kingship His, so that  
they help'd him in the One, and Cross'd him in the Other.

In Septemb. 1658. Oliver Dies; and Then, they are Ri-  
chard's Army; whose pious Highness must have His Parlia-  
ment too. They meet; and notwithstanding a huge Pack of  
Officers and Lawyers, the Vote prov'd utterly Republican, and  
Friend, neither to Single-Person, nor Army.

Note.

Now, Richard takes his turn: but first, down goes his Par-  
liament: and for a while, the Army-Officers, undertake the  
Government.

Some Ten days after, up with the Rump again, and then  
they'r Lenthall's Army: which, in Octob. 1659. throws out  
the Rump, and now they'r Fleetwood's Army. Enter the Rump  
once more in Decemb. and once more the Army comes about a-  
gain. The Rump's next Exit, is for ever, March the 16. 1660.

Exit  
The Rump.

Behold the Thorough Reformation; and every Change Seal'd  
with a Sacrament, to have been an Act of Conscience, and gui-  
ded by a Divine Impulse.

Behold the Staff of the Rebellion; both the Support and Pun-  
ishment of it; a Standing Army.

While Plots could either be Procured, or credibly suggested,  
the Innocent were their Prey, and when That entertainment  
fail'd them, they worried one another: never at Peace; betwixt  
the Strife, first to Subject the Nation, and then to Govern it.

So long as the Royal Interest was in Vigour, it was the  
Faction's Policy to engage all sorts of People, whom they  
could possibly Unite against That Interest, however Disagree-  
ing among Themselves, their first work being only to Destroy  
the King) and This was the Composition of the first Army.

All Factions  
unite against  
the King.

From Killing they Proceed to rule Possession; and here En-  
sues a greater Difficulty.

They divide.

A Force is Necessary still, but the State of the Dispute being  
Chang'd, the Former Mixture is not for their present purpose:

the Conspiratours that agreed to overthrow the Government, being now *Divided* who shall Enjoy it. Hereupon, they fall to Sorting and Purging of Parties; the *Independent* at last carrying it, and *Oliver* in the Head of them.

And Subdivide

After this Decision of the Contest betwixt the Two Factions, the *Army* it self divides; and *Cromwell* is now more puzzled with the Private Contrivements of his own Officers, then he was before with the open Power of his profess'd Enemies, for they are clearly for his Ruling with them, but not over them: so that unless he can both Uphold them for his Security, and Modell them for his Design, he does nothing: In Both He labour'd, and beyond Question, Dy'd in the Despair of perfecting Either, finding upon Experience, that his Ambition was as Intolerable to his Party, as the Charge of Continuing his Army was to the Publique; and what the Latter was, we'l read in his own words, deliver'd at a Conference, April 21. 1657.

The present Charge (says he) of the Forces both by Sea and Land, including the Government, will be 2426989 l. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland, is about 1900000 l. I think this was Reckoned at the Most, as now the Revenue stands: Why now towards This, you settle by your Instrument 1300000 l. for the Government, and upon That Account to maintain the Force by Sea and Land, and This without Land Tax I think, and this is short of the Revenue, that now may be Raised by the Government, 600000 l. because you see the Present Government is 1900000 l. and the whole Summ which may now be Raised, comes short of the Present Charge to 542689 l. And although an End should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a Necessity of the Preservation of the Peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the Present Established Army in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also a considerable Fleet, for some good Time; until it shall please God to Quiet, and Compose Mens Minds, and bring the Nation to some better Consistency: so that Considering the Pay of the Army, coming to upwards 1100000 l. per annum, and the Government 300000 l. it will be necessary, that for some convenient Time, seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a Wound healed before it be; that there should be Raised over and above 1300000 l. the Summ of 600000 l. per annum, which makes up the Summ of 1900000 l. That likewise the Parliament

Parliament declare how far they will carry on the Spanish War; and for what Time, and what farther Summ they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what Time, and if these Things be not Ascertained, at one saith, Money is the Cause certainly, what ever the Cause is; if Money be Wanting, the business will fall to the ground, and all our Labour will be Lost, and therefore I hope you will have a care of our Undertakings.

How many Souls, Lives, Millions; and Noble Families; How well a Temper'd Government; How Gracious a Prince, and happy a People, were by This Cursed Army Destroy'd; will need no more then their own Consciences to determine, when Divine Vengeance shall call them to a Reckoning. It brought forth (briefly) the worst of Crimes, and Mischiefs, without the least Tincture of a Comfort, or shadow of a Benefit. Nor was it likely to do other, if we consider either the People, Place, Custome, or Government, they were to work upon.

The Effects of  
a Military  
Government.

Concerning the People (first) [*Populi ferè omnes ad Aquilone[m] positi, Libertatem quandam spirant*] 'Tis Bodin's observation, that your Northern Nations are Generally keen Assertours of Freedom; (which for their Parts, the English made too true) How could it be Expected then, that a People, which Oppos'd their Lawful Prince for the fear of Slavery, should ever finally Submit to a Rebellious Usurper under the Actual and Shameful Extermity of it? This Reluctancy of Humour in the Generality, joyn'd with the Particular Vigilance, Loyalty, and Enterprizings of the Royalists; render'd those Courses Necessary at present, to the Usurper, which must certainly sink him in the End.

The English  
Impatient of  
Slavery.

Nor was it more against the Genius of the People, than against the Interest and Reason of the Place.

The Place, we are to consider as an Island; no Foreign Danger then in view, to Palliate the Oppression of an Army; nor any Subject whereupon to turn the Influence of it. No Stranger in the Case concern'd; only at Variance with our selves; we breed and nourish in our proper bowels, the Evil that Devours, or, at the best, Consumes us. The Army fear'd the Plots, but 'twas the Nation felt them, and the Result of all was only a Dispute betwixt the Civil and the Military Power; Law, and Necessity: so that Effectually (the two Parties of this

this



this Division thus Enterwatching and Counter-Plotting one another) we were rather in a State of *War* than a Posture of *Security*, the *People* being at this Election, either to *Resist*, or *Starve*, and the *Army*, as much oblig'd, to *make good their undertaking*, or *fall to nothing*. What could be Rationally the Issue of these *Provocations*, and *Animosities*, but either the Destruction of the *Army* by the *People*; or of the *People* by the *Army*, in Order to a General *Quiet*? Neither of them being *safe*, but by the *Ruine*, and *Subjection* of the *Other*. If the *People* refuse to *Pay*, they are Presently *Dis-affected*; if the *Souldiery* be their own *Carvers*, they are lookt upon as *Tyrannical*, and *Insolent*; and here's *Matter* furnish'd for a *Civil War*.

Now That which makes the Case Worse, is (as I said) that being *Islanders*, and wanting the Colour of *Arming* against *Dangerous Neighbours*, we are forced to spend that humour in *Mutiny* among our *selves*, which might Otherwise be *Diverted* by, and *Employ'd* upon, a *Publique Quarrel*.

### A Digression to the State of FRANCE.

This was calculated for 1662.

It seems to be the Interest of France to maintain a Standing Army.

Upon the *Continent* 'tis Otherwise; as in *France*, (for the Purpose) where though the King Entertains a *Standing Army* of 12000. and about *Four-score Regiments* more, in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Catalogne*, and *Luxemburgh*; (besides *Strangers*) There's yet the Countenance of an *Interest*, and a *Prudential Ground* for't: to *Ballance* the *Power*, or at least *Check* the *Progress* of his *Ambitious Neighbour Spain*. For (says the Duke of Rohan in his Interest of France) *Il faut opposer La Force à la Force. Car ni les persuasions, ni la Justice des armes, ne fera la loi à celui qui sera armé, tellement que la France doit se retrancher de toute autre despençe moins utile, & estre tousiours puissamment armée.* [Force must meet Force, for 'tis the Sword that gives the Law to Equity, and Reason; wherefore let France rather be sparing in any other way, then in the Constant Entertainment of a *Puissant Army*]

It may be Argu'd too, that the Exercise of *Armes*, is the Profession of the *French Nobility*, and in Effect, 'tis only *War* abroad keeps them in *Pence* at home. Yet even in *France* it self, where the Necessity of a *Standing-Army* is bolster'd up with so many fair *Appearances*, the *Effects* are *Disimal*, how plausible soever the first *Occasion* seem'd. Where

Where it began, or what it was, not a rush matter, but, that by Gradual encroachment, from small and Temporary Pretences, 'tis now grown to a Constant, and unlimited Excess, he that knows any thing of France, cannot be Ignorant.

They that fetch it from Guntran King of Orleans, 587. look too far back meahinks, and entitle the Tyranny to too fair a President. His Case being This.

Guntran was the Survivor of Four Brothers, Sons of Clotaire the First; the other Three, being Cherebert, Chilperic, and Sigibert. The Eldest of these, Dyed Childless, and the Other two were Murther'd by the Practises of Fredegonde, (first the Mistress, and afterward the Wife of Chilperic.)

'Sigibert, supinely indulging himself in the height of his Conquests, and Pleasures, was Stabb'd in his own Palace by a Couple of Souldiers, employ'd by Fredegonde, who did as much at last for her Husband Chilperic; having first Caused him to Murther his Son Clovis; to Divorce one Wife, and Strangle another. The Story is Short, and a little Curious.

'Fredegonde had a Gallant, called Landry de la Tour, by Her, Preferr'd to be Duke of France and Mayor of the Palace).

'The King comes one Morning in his Hunting-Dress into the Queens Chamber, as she was busie about her Head, with her Hair over her Eyes; and (without a word speaking) tickles her on the Neck with the Twigg-end of his Riding-wand, Ah Landry (says she) That's not Cavalier like, to come Behind. The King was as much surpriz'd with the Discovery, as Fredegonde with the Mistake; and went his way with the Thought of it in his Countenance. Landry is presently sent for by the Queen, They discourse the Accident, Debate the Consequences, and in the End, Complot to have Chilperic Murthered as he returns from the Chase; which was Executed, with much Ease and Security, the King being only attended with a Single Page, who Dy'd with his Master, and the Murtherers escap'd.

This Chilperic had, by Fredegonde, Clotaire the Second, (but Four Moneths old at the Death of his Father) and the Regency of King and Kingdom was Committed to Guntran, (the young Kings Uncle by the Fathers side) The Regent, warn'd by the Miscarriage of his Brothers, and being enformed that the same Hand by which they fell, sought His Life also: Establishes

## A MEMENTO.

A Guard both  
Sutable and  
necessary about  
the Person of a  
King.  
The Maries of  
France abus'd  
the Confidence  
of their Ma-  
sters.

a Considerable Guard, constantly to attend his Person : which was both suitable to his Wisdom, and Dignity ; as a Security, against not only the Stroke of Violence, but the very Thought Of it, and a fit Circumstance of Majesty.

The Influence of This Force went not far, nor, in Truth, the Royalty of their first Race of Kings, much farther : whose either Lenity or Aversness to Business of State, gave their Great Counsellors the means to Usurp, and Transferr Their Authority, which Confidence they abus'd to the Supplanting of their Masters.

Complaints, Suits, References, Addresses, must be made, forsooth, to the Majors, not to the Kings : They undertake the Disposition of Monies, and Offices,; the Menage of Treaties and Alliances : They Grant, Revoke at Pleasure : Briefly, from 632. to 750. France was rather under a Majoralty, then a Monarchy : and Then, (Pope Zachary, having first Absolv'd the French of their Oath of Obedience) the Race of Chilperic is Laid By ; Himself (the Fourth of that Name) formally Degraded, and Cast into a Monastery, by Decree of Parliament ; and Pepin Install'd in his Stead. Thus did the Son of the Last Great Subject make himself the First of the Second Race of Kings : of which, in requital for too much said upon the Former, I shall say nothing at all. Nor much more upon this Subject ; save only that Charles the VII. and his Successour Lewis the XI. Laid the first firm Foundation of the Military Power ; to which, Charles the VIII. Francis the I. &c. have since furnish'd their Additionals, and Superstructures, to make the Tyranny compleat.

'Tis Truth ; the Splendor, and Profusion of the Court and Camp, is Dazling, and Prodigious ; they swim in Pleasures and Plenty : but he that turns his Eye toward those Miserable Animals, the Peasants, that with their Blood, and Sweat, Feed and Support that Luxe, and Vanity (with hardly bread for their own Mouths,) will find it much a different Prospect ; the great Enhancers of the Charge claiming Exemption from the burthen of it.

He that would see the Glory of the One Part, and the Slavery of the Other, needs only read L'ESTAT de la FRANCE, of 1661. Treating of the Officers of the Crown, Honours, Governments, Taxes, Gabelles, &c. He shall there find the Venality of Officers, and Their Rates ; the Privileges of the Nobility,

# M E M E N T O.

## C A P. IX.

*Of Seditions in Particular; and shewing in what manner they arise from These Seven Interests. The Church, the Bench, the Court, the Camp, the City, the Countrey, and the Body Representative.*

**I**N the first Chapter of this Tract, we have touch'd upon the *Matter and Causes of Seditions in General*: We must be now a little more Particular.

The Scene's *Utopia*; and we'll Divide it, into *Seven Interests*, The, *Church, the Bench, the Court, the Camp, the City, the Countrey, and the Body Representative*: the least considerable of which, being in any great disorder, hazzards the whole; and That, either by engaging in some *Actual Violence* against the Government; or by some *Irregularity of Proceeding* that may *Provoke or Cause it*. Of *These in their Course, and first of the Church.*

### S. I.

#### *Seditions arising from the* CHURCH.

**T**Hose Troubles in the *State* which derive from *Dissensions* in the *Church*, proceed either from *Faction, Ignorance, or Scandal*.

The Strongest Tie upon Reasonable Nature, is *Conscience*; and the *Stubbornest Consciences*, are Those that do they know not *What*, they know not *Why*. In Truth, what is *Conscience* without *Understanding*, but a well-meaning *Madness*? And That's the fairest Sense my Charity can afford to the Blind Zeal of a Transported Multitude. If *Conscience* bids them *Kill the King*; *Rob the Church*; and *Tear up the Foundations* of Both Governments; They'll do it: *Nay, More, This has been done, and Providence it self Proclaim'd for the Door of it*. Great Heed should then be taken, what Persons are Entrusted with the Care of Souls, since the *Consequence of a Factions Preacher, and a Mistaken Conscience, proves many times the Ruin both of Prince and People.*

Under

the Conspiratours that agreed to overthrow the Government, being now *Divided* who shall Enjoy it. Hereupon, they fall to Sorting and Purging of Parties; the *Independent* at last carrying it, and *Oliver* in the *Head* of them.

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*Parliament declare how far they will carry on the Spanish War; and for what Time, and what farther Summ they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what Time, and if these Things be not Assertained, at one saith, Money is the Cause certainly, what ever the Cause is; if Money be Wanting, the business will fall to the ground, and all our Labour will be Lost, and therefore I hope you will have a care of our Undertakings.*

How many Souls, Lives, Millions; and Noble Families; How well a Temper'd Government; How Gracious a Prince, and happy a People, were by This Curfed Army Destroy'd; will need no more then their own Consciences to determine, when Divine Vengeance shall call them to a Reckoning. It brought forth (briefly) the worst of Crimes, and Mischiefs, without the least Tincture of a Comfort, or shadow of a Benefit. Nor was it likely to do other, if we consider either the People, Place, Custome, or Government, they were to work upon.

Concerning the People (first) [*Populi ferè omnes ad Aquilonem positi, Libertatem quandam spirant*] 'Tis Bodin's observation, that your Northern Nations are Generally keen Assettours of Freedom; (which for their Parts, the English made too true) How could it be Expected then, that a People, which Oppos'd their Lawful Prince for the fear of Slavery, should ever finally Submit to a Rebellious Usurper under the Actual and Shameful Extermity of it? This Reluctancy of Humour in the Generality, joyn'd with the Particular Vigilance, Loyalty, and Enterprizings of the Royalists; render'd those Courses Necessary at present, to the Usurper, which must certainly sink him in the End.

The English  
Impatient of  
Slavery.

Nor was it more against the Genius of the People, than against the Interest and Reason of the Place.

The Place, we are to consider as an Island; no Foreign Danger then in view, to Palliate the Oppression of an Army; nor any Subject whereupon to turn the Influence of it. No Stranger in the Case concern'd; only at Variance with our selves; we breed and nourish in our proper bowels, the Evil that Devours, or, at the best, Consumes us. The Army fear'd the Plots, but 'twas the Nation felt them, and the Result of all was only a Dispute betwixt the Civil and the Military Power; Law, and Necessity: so that Effectually (the two Parties of this

this Division thus Enterwatching and Counter-Plotting one another) we were rather in a State of *War* than a Possure of *Security*, the *People* being at this Election, either to *Resist*, or *Starve*, and the *Army*, as much oblig'd, to *make good their undertaking*, or *fall to nothing*. What could be Rationally the Issue of these *Provocations*, and *Animosities*, but either the Destruction of the *Army* by the *People*; or of the *People* by the *Army*, in Order to a General *Quiet*? Neither of them being *safe*, but by the *Ruine*, and *Subjection* of the *Other*. If the *People* refuse to *Pay*, they are Presently *Dis-affected*; if the *Souldiery* be their own *Carvers*, they are lookt upon-as *Tyrannical*, and *Insulent*; and here's *Matter* furnish'd for a *Civil War*.

Now That which makes the Case Worse, is (as I said) that being *Islanders*, and wanting the Colour of *Arming* against *Dangerous Neighbours*, we are forced to spend that humour in *Mutiny* among our *selves*, which might Otherwise be Diverted by, and Employ'd upon, a *Publique Quarrel*.

### A Digression to the State of FRANCE.

This was calculated for 1662.

It seems to be the Interest of France to maintain a Standing Army.

Upon the *Continent* 'tis Otherwise; as in *France*, (for the Purpose) where though the King Entertains a *Standing Army* of 12000. and about *Fourscore Regiments* more, in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Catologne*, and *Luxemburgh*; (besides *Strangers*) There's yet the Countenance of an *Interest*, and a *Prudential Ground* for't: to *Ballance* the *Power*, or at least *Check* the *Progress* of his *Ambitious Neighbour Spain*. For (says the *Duke of Rohan* in his *Interest of France*) *Il faut opposer La Force à la Force. Car ni les persuasions, ni la Justice des armes, ne fera la loi à celui qui sera armé, tellement que la France doit se retrancher de toute autre desffence moins utile, & estre tousiours puissamment arme.* [Force must meet Force, for 'tis the Sword that gives the Law to Equity, and Reason; wherefore let France rather be sparing in any other way, then in the Constant Entertainment of a *Puissant Army*]

It may be Argu'd too, that the Exercise of *Armes*, is the Profession of the *French Nobility*, and in Effect, 'tis only *War* abroad keeps them in *Pence* at home. Yet even in *France* it self, where the Necessity of a *Standing-Army* is bolster'd up with so many fair *Appearances*, the *Effects* are *Disfmal*, how plausible soever the first *Occasion* seem'd.

Where

Where it began, or what it was, not a rush matter, but, that by Gradual encroachment, from small and Temporary Pretences, 'tis now grown to a Constant, and unlimited Excess, he that knows any thing of France, cannot be Ignorant.

They that fetch it from Guntran King of Orleans, 587. look too far back me hinks, and entitle the Tyranny to too fair a President. His Case being This.

Guntran was the Survivor of Four Brothers; Sons of Clotaire the First; the other Three, being Cherebert, Chilperic, and Sigibert. The Eldest of these, Dyed Childless, and the Other two were Murther'd by the Practises of Fredegonde, (first the Mistress, and afterward the Wife of Chilperic.)

'Sigibert, supinely indulging himself in the height of his Conquests, and Pleasures, was Stabb'd in his own Palace by a Couple of Souldiers, employ'd by Fredegonde, who did as much at last for her Husband Chilperic; having first Caused him to Murther his Son Clovis; to Divorce one Wife, and Strangle another. The Story is Short, and a little Curious.

'Fredegonde had a Gallant, called, Landry de la Tour, by Her, Prefer'd to be Duke of France and Mayor of the Palace).

'The King comes one Morning in his Hunting-Dress into the Queens Chamber, as she was busie about her Head, with her Hair over her Eyes; and (without a word speaking) tickles her on the Neck with the Twigg-end of his Riding-wand, *Ab Landry* (says she) *That's not Cavalier like, to come Behind.* The King was as much surpriz'd with the Discovery, as Fredegonde with the Mistake; and went his way with the Thought of it in his Countenance. Landry is presently sent for by the Queen, They discourse the Accident, Debate the Consequences, and in the End, Complot to have Chilperic Murthered as he returns from the Chase; which was Executed, with much Ease and Security, the King being only attended with a Single Page, who Dy'd with his Master, and the Murtherers escap'd.

This Chilperic had, by Fredegonde, Clotaire the Second, (but Four Moneths old at the Death of his Father) and the Regency of King and Kingdom was Committed to Guntran, (the young Kings Uncle by the Fathers side) The Regent, warn'd by the Miscarriage of his Brothers, and being enformed that the same Hand by which they fell, sought His Life also: Establishes

# A MEMENTO.

A Guard both  
Suitable and  
necessary about  
the Person of a  
King.

The Maries of  
France abus'd  
the Confidence  
of their Ma-  
sters.

a Considerable Guard, constantly to attend his Person : which was both suitable to his Wisdom, and Dignity ; as a Security, against not only the Stroke of Violence, but the very Thought of it, and a fit Circumstance of Majesty.

The Influence of This Force went not far, nor, in Truth, the Royalty of their first Race of Kings, much farther : whose either Lenity or Aversness to Business of State, gave their Great Counsellours the means to Usurp, and Transferr Their Authority, which Confidence they abus'd to the Supplanting of their Masters.

Complaints, Suits, References, Addresses, must be made, forsooth, to the Majors, not to the Kings : They undertake the Disposition of Monies, and Offices ; the Menage of Treaties and Alliances : They Grant, Revoke at Pleasure : Briefly, from 632. to 750. France was rather under a Majoralty, then a Monarchy : and Then, (Pope Zachary, having first Absolv'd the French of their Oath of Obedience) the Race of Chilperic is Laid By ; Himself (the Fourth of that Name) formally Degraded, and Cast into a Monastery, by Decree of Parliament ; and Pepin Install'd in his Stead. Thus did the Son of the Last Great Subject make himself the First of the Second Race of Kings : of which, in requital for too much said upon the Former, I shall say nothing at all. Nor much more upon this Subject ; save only that Charles the VII. and his Successour Lewis the XI. Laid the first firm Foundation of the Military Power ; to which, Charles the VIII. Francis the I. &c. have since furnish'd their Additionals, and Superstructures, to make the Tyranny compleat.

'Tis Truth ; the Splendor, and Profusion of the Court and Camp, is Dazling, and Prodigious ; they swim in Pleasures and Plenty : but he that turns his Eye toward those Miserable Animals, the Peasants, that with their Blood, and Sweat, Feed and Support that Luxe, and Vanity (with hardly bread for their own Mouths,) will find it much a different Prospect ; the great Enhancers of the Charge claiming Exemption from the burthen of it.

He that would see the Glory of the One Part, and the Slavery of the Other, needs only read *L'EST AT de la FRANCE*, of 1661. Treating of the Officers of the Crown, Honours, Governments, Taxes, Gabelles, &c. He shall there find the Venerability of Officers, and Their Rates ; the Privileges of the Nobility,

The State of  
France.

C A P. IX.

Of Seditions in Particular; and shewing in what manner they arise from These Seven Interests. The Church, the Bench, the Court, the Camp, the City, the Countrey, and the Body Representative.

IN the first Chapter of this Tract, we have touch'd upon the Matter and Causes of Seditions in General: We must be now a little more Particular. The Scene's Utopia; and we'll Divide it, into Seven Interests, The, Church, the Bench, the Court, the Camp, the City, the Countrey, and the Body Representative: the least considerable of which, being in any great disorder, hazzards the whole; and That, either by engaging in some Actual Violence against the Government; or by some Irregularity of Proceeding that may Provoke or Cause it. Of These in their Course, and first of the Church.

§. I.

Seditions arising from the CHURCH.

Those Troubles in the State which derive from Distempers in the Church, proceed either from Faction, Ignorance, or Scandal.

The Strongest Tie upon Reasonable Nature, is Conscience; and the Stubbornest Consciences, are Those that do they know not What, they know not Why. In Truth, what is Conscience without Understanding, but a well-meaning Madness? And That's the Fairest Sense my Charity can afford to the Blind Zeal of a Transported Multitude. If Conscience bids them Kill the King; Rob the Church; and Tear up the Foundations of Both Governments; They'll do it: Nay, More, This has been done, and Providence it self Proclaim'd for the Door of it. Great Heed should then be taken, what Persons are Entrusted with the Care of Souls, since the Consequence of a Factions Preacher, and a Mistaken Conscience, proves many times the Ruin both of Prince and People.

Conscience the strongest Tie.

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Under the Note of *Faction*, I comprize all *Opinions* delivered *Publickly*, and with *Design*; against the *Dctrine*, *Practice*, or *Authority* of the *Church*. Reduce it, in Short, to *Heresie*, and *Schism*. The former whereof, reflecting only upon *Matters of Faith*, concerns rather *Religion*, then *Government*: and lyes beyond the *Line* of my purpose; but in This *Place*; the *Latter* is the *Question*, and, briefly as we may, we'll take a view of the *Rise*, the *Method*, the *Design*, and the *Effects* of it.

It is with *Church-men* as with *other Mortals*; There are of all *Sorts*, *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferent*. Some we have known, whom neither the *Loss* of *Dignity*, *Fortune*, *Freedom*, nor the *Loss* of *Life* it self, could ever move from the strict *Rule* of *Conscience*, *Magnanimity*, and *Duty*. Others we have seen to *Exercise* these *Cruelties*, (though *Ecclesiasticks* themselves) upon the *Nobler Sort* of their own *Function*. And some again, we have observ'd to *shift* with every *Turn*, and *Steer* by *Interest*; still putting on the *Livery* of the *Prevailing Party*: *Squaring* the *Rule*, and *Will* of *Heaven* to the *Appetites* and *Passions* of *Humanity*. So that upon the whole, 'tis evident; some *Clergy-men* are *Quiet*, because they have *Preferments*, and *Others Troublesom*, because they want them.

The Principal *Ingredients* into *Schism*, are These; *Ambition*, *Avarice*, *Popularity*, and *Envy*; The *Scope* of it is to *destroy Authority*, and *advance a Faction*. Now how to accomplish This, is the *Great Work*; for a *Rent* in the *Church* signifies nothing without a *Sedition* in the *State*: and in This manner they proceed.

First, In a *Style* of *Holy Tenderness* they sily disaffect the *People* against the *Rights* of the *Church*, as in themselves *unlawful*; and utterly *Destructive* of *Christian Liberty*.

To strengthen, and advance the *Imposture*, what do they next, but rip up all the *Failings*, and shew the *Nakedness* of their *Superiours*? Still aggravating what they find, and creating *Scandalous Matter* where they want it.

When the *Multitude* are once mov'd in *Conscience* against the *Impositions*, and in *Passion* against the *Imposers*; their next attempt is upon the *Authority*, and then They divide into *Separate Assemblies*, which under colour of so many *Conscientious Dissenters* from the *Ceremonies* of the *Church*, are infallibly so many *Contrivers* against the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*.

For

The Rise of  
Schism.

The method  
of it.

The motion of  
Schism into  
Sedition.

For here comes in the Civil Power to prohibit their Seditious Meetings, and Then, the Saints (they cry) are Persecuted: The Cause is God's; and they are ty'd in Conscience to bind their Kings in Chains; and through all Extremities to pursue a Reformation: This is the Fruit of Tolerating a Faction under a Commendance of Conscience. Nor is it any wonder to see those wretches draw their Swords against Their Sovereign in the Field, whose Souls are turn'd against him in the Pulpit.

The Design

But 'tis Objected, that some Ministers do really make a Conscience, of Conformity. Truly, the better for Them, if they forbear upon That Account; but 'tis the same thing to the Publick, upon what account soever; for they Prescribe, what they Practise, and by the President of Sticking upon a Doubt of Conscience, they open a Door to Disobedience upon any Pre- And Effect  
tence of it, breaking the Bond of Unity in favour of a Particular nicety of Opinion.

Very notable is The Determination of the Lord St. Albans, in This Case [In Points Fundamental, be that is not wish us is against us. In Points not Fundamental, be that is not against us, is wish us.]

Note,

Let this suffice to shew the Political Inconvenience of Entertaining Schismatical Preachers. It may be now a Question, How far a Christian Magistrate may justify the sufferance of any man to exercise the Ministry, within his Dominions, that's a profess'd Enemy to Episcopacy: Which I Offer, with the fit Modesty of a Proposal, and with Reverence, to the better enform'd. But if, as the Danger of such a Mixture is Evident, so the Lawfulness of it shall appear doubtful, their own Argument is then turn'd against Themselves, and we have both Scripture and Experience on our side, over and above.

Q<sup>a</sup>. May an enemy to Bishops exercise the Ministry

The Three Questions, wherewith King Charles the Martyr Choak'd the Presbyterian Ministers in the Isle of Wight, Remain still Unresolv'd, and they are These.

First, Is there any Certain Form of Church Government at all prescribed in the World?

Secondly, If there be any Prescript Form, Whether or no may the Civil Power Change the same, as they see Cause?

Thirdly, If any Prescript Form there be, and That unchangeable, If it were not Episcopal, what was it?

In Fact, the Constant Exercise of Church-Prelacy is so manifest, that the whole Stream of Story, and Tradition Runs Episcopal:

Three Questions propounded by King Charles the Martyr, concerning Church Government.

piscopal: which to Oppose, were to deny the only Means of knowing whether it were so, or not.

Is it the *Right* they Question? Take then the learned Bishop *Sanderfon's* Deduction of it.

The derivation of Episcopal Government.

Leaving other men to the liberty of their own Judgment, my opinion is, that EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT is not to be derived merely from Apostolical Practice or Institution: but that it is originally founded in the Person and Office of the *Messias*, our Blessed Lord JESUS CHRIST. Who being sent by his Heavenly Father to be the great Apostle [HEB. III. 1.] Bishop and Pastor, [1 PET. II. 25.] of his Church, and anointed to that Office immediately after his Baptism by JOHN, with power and the Holy Ghost [ACT. X. 37--8.] descending then upon him in a bodily shape [LUK. III. 22.] did afterwards, before his Ascension into Heaven, send and empower his holy Apostles, (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise as his Father had given him) in like manner as his Father had before sent him [JOH. XX. 21.] to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral Office for the ordering and governing of his Church until his coming again: and so the same Office to continue in them, and their Successors, unto the end of the World. [M A T. XXVIII. 18--20.] Thus far the Reverend Bishop.

Some will Pretend, that This only proves the Authoritative Power they receiv'd by their Mission, but no Succession to the Office.

Christ's Mandate due to the Apostles.

For That; Observe the Mandate, [Go, Teach ALL Nations.] Personally, and Actually they could not do it; but in Effect, and Virtually, 'tis out of doubt, they did it: and How, but by their Delegates? For otherwise; our Saviour Com-manded them a Thing Impossible. Briefly; if the Gospel was to be Preach'd to All Nations, (which no Christian will deny) and if (according to the Literal direction of the Order) the Gospel could not be Preach'd to all Nations, by so few Persons as were Then Com-mission'd; what follows, but the Evident Necessity of a Substitution; which Delegation being granted, clears the Dispute: for 'tis Indubitable that What Authority soever our Saviour vested the Apostles with, the same likewise was from Them transmitted to their Successors; Who (in the words of his late Sacred Majesty) succeed into the same Apostolical Power, and Function, which the Apostles, as Ordinary Pastors, had. *Qui in Dominium alterius succedat,*

*jur.*

*Inter se non debet.* He that succeeds to the Government of another, succeeds also to his Rights of Governing. And Mark This further; that the Apostles Powers, and Commissions, were granted before the Descent of the Holy Ghost: and relating only to matters of Ordinary use, and perpetual Establishment in the Church; the extraordinary Gifts of the Apostles not at all proving them extraordinary Officers.

Now how far a Prince may safely either Act, or Suffer the violation of a Church-Government of This Authority, I am not yet instructed. Episcopacy unalterable.

In fine; it is most certain, that a Divided Clergy makes a Divided Nation; and by how much Religion is the fairest of all Pretences; Conscience the deepest of all Impressions; Preaching and Praying the most Popular and Publick of all Operations: by so much are Disaffected Church-men the most Pernicious and Intolerable of all disloyal Instruments. No Calumny being so Plausible, as That which drops from the Lips of Persons famous for an External form of Piety: No Hypocrites so abominable, as Those that Tisbe Mint, and Cummin, and yet neglect Mercy and Judgment: that under colour of long Prayers devour Widows houses, &c. And no sting so Deadly, as That from a Snake in a mans own bosome.

*Corruptio Optimi, Pessima.*

We have now done with the Schismatick; the Active and Industrious promoter of Seditions. The Matter he works upon, is Scandal; either Suppos'd or Real; and That comes next.

In all Invectives against the Church, the Scandalous, Negligent, and Insufficient, March hand in hand: to which are opposed a Party that stile themselves a Godly, Painfull, and Able Ministry. Thus with the Boasting, and Censorious Pharisee, does the Proud Schismatick advance himself above his Brethren, calling Good Evil, and Evil Good; imposing equally upon the People, by an uncharitable Judgment, and Report, on the One side, and a fictitious Holiness, on the Other.

*The method of Schism.*

Not to excuse all Clergy-men, nor to extenuate the Crimes of any of them. Judas his Treason was the Fouler because of his Profession: and yet the Eleven were never the worse, because of Judas his Treason.

We'l Grant, that for a Minister to spend one Hour of the week in a Pulpit, and the rest in a Tavern; to Undo a good Sermon by an Ill Example; and to discredit a Strict Doctrine

*A Scandalous Clergy, makes a Seditious Layety.*

by a *Loose Life*; is to extinguish the *Reverence* that is due to the *Function*; and to make *Preaching* look only like a *Political Ordinance* to keep the People in *Order*. Not that the *Doctrine* is ever the worse for the *Person*, nor the *Priesthood* the less *Venerable* for the *abuse* of it; but it ministers matter of *Scandal*, and *Exception*: and with the *Simple* it passes for an *Argument* against the *Government*.

Slander is the  
Sin and Practice of the  
Devil.

But as the *Habit* of *Drunkenness*, and *Prophaness*, in a *Churchman* is most *unsufferable*; so is it on the other hand a *Practice* *Diabolical*, to put all their *Actions* upon the *Tem*, and *Skrew* up every *allowable*, and *social Freedom* to the construction of a *Scandal*. As if there were no *Medium* to be admitted, betwixt the *Angel* and the *Brute*. Are they not *Men*; and equally subjected to *Infirmities*, with other *Men*? 'Tis true; their *Calling* is *Divine*, but their *Persons* are *Humane*; and as much is required, in regard of Their *Ministry*: so somewhat also is to be *born with* in respect of their *Humanity*. Remember, there were those that call'd our Saviour himself a *Wine-bibber*.

Alas; For a Minister to *Drink* a *Glass* of *Wine* in a *Tavern*, is made a mighty business: Nay, to be only *Pleasant*, and *well-humour'd*, is by some, cast in their dish as an *Ayre too Light* for the *Severity* of their *Profession*: as if the *Messengers* of *Joy*, the *bearers* of *good-tidings* to the world, were only to be *sad Themselves*, and *look*, as if either They *suspected* the *Truth* of their *Errand*, or their *Title* to the *Benefit* of it.

Shun Appearances of Scandal.

However, since there are Those that will make use of *small Occasions* to do *great Mischiefs*; It is a Point of *Pious Prudence*, fairly to shun appearances of *Scandal*; but 'tis indeed of high, and absolute *Necessity*, to *Punish*, or *Remove* the *Scandal* it self: as That which both *provokes* a *Judgment* from *Heaven*, and *stirs up* the *People* to *execute* it. Yet let us put some difference betwixt Sins of *Appetite*, and *Sense*; and Sins of *Malice*: in the *Former*, a man plays the *Beast*; but in the *Latter*, he plays the *Devil*.

Ignorance a  
Species of  
Scandal.

I look upon *Ignorance* also, as a *Species* of *Scandal*; even although in a *Good Man*; for every *Good Man* makes not a *Good Minister*; nor do I know which is more tolerable; *Habitual Prophaneness*, and *Sensuality* in a *Divine*, or *Ignorance* in a *Teacher*: the hazzard of *False Doctrine*, or the *Influence* of an ill *Example*.

Touch



## A MEMENTO

Touching the *Body of the Clergy*, enough is said, to shew the dangerous Effects of *Schism*, and *Scandal*; the One tending Directly to *Sedition*, the Other, *Consequentially*.

There remains another *Stumbling-block*, and That concerns the *Governours of the Church*; who are commonly charged with *Innovations*, *Rigour*, *Pride*, or *Avarice*. They are capable of All This, as they are *Men*; but never the more blameable for a *Clamour* Levell'd at them as they are *Bishops*: There being great *Difference*, betwixt *Personal Reproof*, and a *Faction's Confederacy*: betwixt the *seasonable Freedom of Counsel*, or *Reprehension*, duly Circumstanc'd; and the *contumacious Insolence of Subjects* toward their *Superiours*. In fine, a *likely Tale* does their *Fear* as well as a certain *Truth*; only they accommodate all their *Stories* to the *Design* of *over-turning the Government*, and to the *Gust* of the *Multitude*.

Bishops blamed by the more blameable.

The *Sound of Innovations*, and of *Popery*, in some places, *Fears* and *Jea- goes* a great way with the *Common People* toward a *Sedition*, *loufies*. They *Fear*, they *Wish*, they *Love*, they *Hate*, they know not what: and yet, against this *Terrible Nothing*, shall they engage their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, as *Zealously*, as if their *Souls* lay at *Stake*; and as *Ridiculously*, as if they *Phanfy'd* These same *Innovations* to be an *Army of Flying Dragons*, and the *Pope* leading them on upon a *Hobby-horse*. With this *De- vice*, the *Multitude* is first startled, and then every *Bush* is a *Thief*; *Church-Habits* are the *Trumpery of Rome*; *Decency* is *Superstitious*; *Kneeling*, direct *Idolatry*: And finally, to *Im- pose* all This, is interpreted, *A violence upon the Conscience of the Godly*. Thus from the very *Method of Agreement* is rais'd an *Argument for Separation*; and *Christian Liberty* is render'd *Destructive of Humane Authority*.

Another *General Objection*, among the *Prouder Brethren*, is the *Pride of Bishops*; their *Lording it over God's Heritage*: which through the *Person*, Wounds the *Office*, Incensing the *Multitude* against the *Power* it self, under pretext of blaming the *unlawful Exercise* of it. Suitable to the *Dignity* of *Bishops*, and Correspondent to the *Duty* of them, ought to be the *Revenue*: (that is, sufficient both for *Honour* and *Hos- pitality*) in which Particular, the *Ecclesiastical Patrimony*, is by some People thought as much too *Large*, as the *Irre- dition*; and from a false and envious *Calculation of Bishops Rents*,

Bishops charged with Pride, by the prouder Brethren.

*Rems*, occasion is taken to inveigh against their *Avarice*; exposing them at once, both as a *Grievance*, and a *Boory*. Thus, like the *Devil*, the *Schismatick* advances his Kingdom by *Slander*, and thrives by the *Sins of the People*.

We have dwelt long upon this Subject of the *Church*; but with the next, The *Bench*, we shall be quicker.

## §. II.

## THE BENCH.

Conscience  
and Law go-  
vern the  
World.

THE Two main *Springs* that Move and Govern the Affections of reclaim'd Nature, are *Conscience* and *Law*. By the *Formers* we are oblig'd, in relation to our *Immortal Being*; and by the *Other* as *Men* Link'd in *Society*. Our *Priests* and *Judges*, are the Oracles we depend upon, for *Counsel*, and *Instruction*; in both these Grand Concerns: and if *They* deceive us, what greater Misery can befall a Nation, than to have *Juglers*, and *Impostors*, take up the *Bench* and *Pulpit*? Cousening the *Vulgar* with *False Weights* and *Measures*, of *Truth* and *Reason*; and uttering their *Licentious Prevarications*, for *Law*, and *Gospel*? In which *Case*, the greater the *Modesty* and *Vertue* of the *Common-people*, the greater is the *Peril* of the *Delusion*: it being their Duty to *submit*, to the *Reason* of the *One*, and to *Believe* the *Doctrine* of the *Other*, without *disputing* either, unless in Matters most *Notoriously* *Repugnant* to the *Elements* of *Polity* and *Religion*. And he's not his *Crafts-master*, that cannot give, even to the *fonleſt Purpose*; a *Colour* fair enough to cheat a *Multitude*. What *Wickedness* is there, for which a *corrupt Divine* shall not produce a *Text*; and a *shifting Lawyer* a *President*? But enough is said of the *Former*, and too much in *Preface* to the *Latter*.

Occasions of  
Sedition.

Those *Faults*, among the *Professors* of the *Law*, which frequently cause *Seditions* (although not in *Themselves* *Seditions*) are, *Corruption*; *Partiality*; *Oppression*; *Chargeable Delays*: or, in a word, the *Non-administration* of *speedy Justice*. Whereupon must necessarily ensue *Poverty*. *Factions*, *Animosities*, &c.

The *Consequences* are *Dangerous* likewise, of *over-straining* the *Prerogative*; and so of *Depressing* it: both which may be done, either out of *Zeal*, or with *Design*. But, be the  
Intention

*Intention of the Doer what it will, the Effects of the Thing done are Mischievous, for it injects Fears and Jealousies of Tyranny, on the one side; and begets False and bold Opinions and Attempts of Liberty on the other: engaging all Humours against the Government, whom either the Hopes and Gust of Freedom, or the Dread of Oppression can work upon. But Personal Vices and Mistakes, we may put upon the Roll of Slow Poysons, that do the Deed, though it be long first.*

There are another sort of Lawyers, whose Malice is of a Seditious Law-  
*Quicker, and Stronger Operations; under whose Lips is the poi- yers and Seditious*  
*son of Asss: or rather, whose Tongues are Daggers, turning matrical Dis-*  
*the Point of Law, upon the Law it self; wounding the Eagle vines are the*  
*with a Feather from his own Wing, and Stabbing the Persons of most abomi-*  
*Princes with their own Authority. These are the Execrable nable Seduc-*  
*Regicides; and the Tumultuary Rabble are but the Ministers*  
*of their vile Purposes. Alas! in Matter of Law; by whom*  
*should the simple Multitude be directed, if not by Lawyers?*  
*(as by Divines, in point of Conscience.) Whether is the*  
*greater Offender then; that Ignorant Wretch that draws his*  
*Sword against his Sovereign, on the behalf of Law and Reli-*  
*gion: (as he supposes:.) Or, Those Abominable Seduc-*  
*ers, that by wrested Scriptures, pretended Inspirations; by*  
*misconstruction of Laws, misapplying of Presidents; Tor-*  
*ning or Embezzelling of Records; inveigle the Poor Creature*  
*into a Good Opinion of so foul an Enterprize? What signifies*  
*the Event of a Popular Action, compared with the deliberate*  
*Contrivance, Allowance, and Direction of it; more than the*  
*Effect of some dull Passive Instrument, employed by such or*  
*such an Agent? Or, if a Prince be Murder'd; whether's*  
*the more to blame, the Axe, or the Executioner; the Bul-*  
*let, or the Marks-man? So much for the BENCH, now*  
*to the COURT.*

## The COURT.

**BY** the Court-Interest, is meant That Party, which more Immediately depends upon the Grace and Favour of the Prince: and here (aselsewhere) Seditions are either Plotted or Occasion'd.

Plotters of Sedition.

Touching the Plotters of Seditions; Some out of Avarice, with Judas, Betray their Masters. Others, are spurred on by Ambition, with Absolom to Supplant Them. One man is puffed up by Popularity; a Second, stung with Envy; a Third, with Jealousie; a Fourth, Transports himself with Revenge, or some other Personal Animosity. In fine, These various Humours, make but One Party; and the Covetous, Ambitious, &c. agree in the same Conspiracy.

Are of three Sorts.

Of the Contrivers of Sedition, some strike directly at the Governour; Others, at the Government: and a Third Sort, by crafty Circumstances, and Windings, chuse rather to Mine the Regal Authority, then Batter it; and to work out a Prince by a Skrew, rather then force him by an Army.

Usurpers.

The first sort of Contrivances here Specifi'd, are such as clayming to the Crown, Themselves, Challenge the Prince that wears it, as an Usurper: And These, by making a fair Title to the People, joyn'd with a little Popular skill of Humouring the Multitude, may with great ease engage a Party, in favour of a Person whom they Love, against a Right which they cannot understand.

Monarchicalists.

Concerning such as directly oppose the Form of Monarchy, upon a Principle of Judgment; much needs not be said, because they are neither many, nor considerable: for, to maintain That Paradox, they must overthrow all Story, Sacred, and Prophane; the Practice of all Ages, and the Reason of all Governments.

Jesuitical Parsons.

A Third sort of Contrivers, are Those who under fair appearances of Loyalty, and Publickness, of Spirit, Masque their Seditions Intents, and Drive on a Particular Interest. From which kind of evill Instruments, even the Cabinets, and Private Counsels of Princes are not absolutely Free; and (according to Sir Francis Bacon) the hazzard arises, either from an

Over-

*Over-greatness in one Counsellor; or, an Over-strict Combination in Divers; which are (says he) things soon found and holpen. For Perspicuity sake, we'll treat of this Division in Subsections.*

Subsection. I.

*Over-greatness in one Counsellor.*

**T**He *Over-greatness in one Counsellor*, is to be understood Principally, in Respect of his *Credit* with his *Master*; and partly, in Regard of those great *Offices*, and *Riches* which are commonly heap'd upon great *Favourites*, giving them the means of *over-awing* the *Honesty* of their *Inferiours*, and of *ingratiating* themselves with the *People*; at least with so many of them as will be drawn to their Party, either by *Fear*, or *Promotion*.

Where it happens that a *Prince* his Heart is touch'd with the *Magick* of so much Kindness for a *Subject*, as to make him dangerously *Over-great*: it is not either *Wisdom*, or *Virtue*, that can properly deliver him from That *Charme*, but it must be rather *Time*, and *Experience*, that shall *Dis-enchant* him, Nor is it a Fault in a *Prince*, to comply with a *Natural Inclination*; but it is a Barbarous *Ingratitude* in a *Subject* to abuse it, by Endeavouring, (Comparatively) to *Darken the Sun*, with the *sparklings* of a *Refracted light*, shot from his own *Glory*.

In This Case, the Happiness of a Nation depends not absolutely upon the *Prudence* of the *Governour*; but, in some Degree, upon the *Honesty* of the *Favourite*: not altogether upon *Counsell*, but much also upon *Enformation*: nor upon That neither, so much concerning the *State* and *Quality* of *Affairs*, as touching the *Fitness* of *Instruments* to manage them, and the *Faith*, and *Abilities* of *Persons*. [In vain is it, (says the Profound St. Albans) for *Princes* to take *Councell* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Councell* likewise concerning *Persons*.] If a *Kingdom* in Danger of *Invasion*, or *Sedition*? To Obviate That Danger by a Force, is a *Rational Expedient*. But he that Arms his *Enemies* instead of his *Friends*, Encreases the Danger. It were neither safe, nor Royall, for a *Prince* to Walk, or Sleep without a Watch about him. But

Time is the best Tryal of Fidelity.

The Knowledge of Persons, is more than the Understanding of Matters.



were he not better be *Alone*, then take *Assassins* into his *Guard*, or *Bed-chamber*? In fine; *Great* is the *Hazard* of *Mistaking Persons*; *Great* is the *Crime* of the *Industrious Authors* of such *Mistakes*; and *Great* the *Infelicity* of a *Monarch* so *Mistaking*.

The Noblest  
Natures most  
easily Deceiv-  
ed.

Nay, which is worst of all, in *This* Particular, the *Noblest Dispositions* are the most lyable to be *Deceiv'd*, and only *Omniscience*, or *Ill-Nature* can totally *Secure* a Prince from the *Delusion*. Imagine a *Servant* receiv'd into the Arms of his *Master*, Crowned with *Honour* and *Bounty*; and in *This* State of *Favour*, giving advice concerning *Persons* that are mere *Strangers* to the *Monarch*: Who fits, or unfit, for such or such *Employment*; who false, or *Loyall*, &c. How should a Prince suspect a *Subject* under so many *Obligations* to *Fidelity*?

Abuses from  
Great Persons  
Hardly Recti-  
fy'd.

Although Abuses of *This* Kind are in *Themselves* sufficiently *Mischievous*, yet are they the more so, by reason of the *Difficulty*, and *Perill* to *Rectify* them; for, in many Cases, (as *Sir Francis Bacon*) the *Truth* is hard to know, and not fit to utter.

What he must  
do that under-  
takes it.

He that would duly *Execute* *This* Office, must first, *Resolve* to feel the weight of a *Potent Adversary*; and *Sacrifice* his *Hopes*, his *Fortunes*, his *Freedom*, (nay, and perhaps, in *Consequence*, his *Life*) to his *Duty*.

He must be wary too, that not a *Syllable* pass from his *Lips*, or *Pen*, which by the utmost force of *Misconstruction*, may seem to glance upon the *Monarch*: wherein, his *Loyalty* is not less concern'd, than his *Discretion*; for 'tis a fouler *Crime* *Publickly* to *Defame* a Prince, then *Privately* to *mis-persuade* him. Let him but keep himself to the *Fact*, (as whether *This* or *That* be *True* or *False*, not meddling with the *Equity*, and *Reason* of the matter) he may with as much *Honour*, and good-manners, advertise his Prince of a *Mistake*, as believe that he is no God.

The *Application* of *This* *Over-greyness* is exceeding *various*, nor is the *Grace* it self less *Beneficial* to the *Publick*, when *Nobly* *Lodg'd*, than it is the *Contrary*, when so large a *Bounty* is pour'd into a *Thirsty* and *Narrow* soul. But we are Ty'd in *This* Place to discourse the *Irregularities* of *Power*, not the *blest* *Improvements* of it.

We

## A MEMENTO.

‘We might reckon the Art of Flattery, among the main Conductments to a Court-Design: But, *That’s one of the Knacks we Learn without a Teacher.* So Common it is, that he that cannot shift his Face and Humour, ’tis odds, can hardly *just* his *Linens*: (he is so Poor, I mean) In This Particular: the *Confidants of Princes*, being generally of their *Masters Age* and *Inclination*, or thereabout, have great *Advantages*, both for the Freedom of *Access*, and *Privacy*: the *Timings of Affairs*; and the more *Clear Discovery* of their *Natures*.

How the *aforsaid Inconveniencies* may be *bolpen*, shall be the Subject of the next Chapter; but to Discern them in the *Intention*, falls properly under Consideration in This.

To give the better Guess at the Design of This *Over great-One*, see how he stands Affected, first to the Religion of the Place he Lives in. ’Tis possible, the *Conscience* of a *Catholick* Good, may over-rule him, to the *Hazard* of a Good which he conceives less *Universal*: and some Light, may be taken toward this Discovery, from the Observation of his *Familars*; but much more from his *Natural Temper*, and from the *Tenor of his Life*, (i. e. if he be *Naturally Melancholick*, and *Scrupulous*) he may be suspected to be *Conscientiously Seditious*.

Conscientious  
Sedition.

Is it *Ambition* moves him? Ye shall then find him scattering his *Donatives* among the *Souldiers*. The Town has not Poor enow for him to *Relieve*, nor Rich enow for him to *Oblige*. He carries his Hat in *One Hand*, and his *Heart* in the *Other*. Here he Lends a *Smile*; There he Drops a *Nod*: with These Popular Incantations bewitching the *Multi-tude*.

An Ambitious  
Person.

Is the Good of the Subject the Question? Who but He to Ease the People in *Publick*, of the *Grievances* which himself had Procured in *Private*; and in fine, no man so fit to be made a *Judge in Israel*. To All This; he must be *Daring* in his *Person*, *Close* in his *Purpose*, *Firm* to his *Dependencies*, and rather *stooping* to the *Ordinary People*, than *mixing* with them, he’ll do no good on’t else.

To Proceed; let him be *Watch’d*, how he *Employs* his *Power*, and *Favour*, whether (with *Machiavel*) more to the *Advantage* of his *Master*; or, to his own particular *Benefit*: and Then, whether (according to the Lord St. Albans) He applies himself more to his *Masters Business*, or to his *Nature*;

The Test of  
an Honest  
Favourite.

## A MEMENTO.

*And rather to Advise him, than to feed his Humour. If he be found to study his Masters Passions, more than his Honour, and to Prefer his Private Interest, to his Duty, 'tis an ill sign.*

An ill sign.  
Another as  
bad.

And 'tis no good one, if the *Favourite* grows *Rich*, and the *Prince* *Poor*: (especially if the *Former* be the Cause of the *Latter*) but it is much a worse, if he Presume to grasp *Authority*, as well as *Treasure*. It looks as if the suppos'd *Equality* of *Friendship*, had Drown'd the *Order* of *Subjection*.

Note.

Take Notice next, of the Proportion betwixt the means he uses, and his suspected ends.

Does he Engross the Disposition of all Charges and Preferences? See in what Hands he Places Them. Does he endeavour to obstruct all Grants of Grace, and Benefit, that pass not through his own Fingers? That's Dangerous: For (says Sir Francis Bacon) [When the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there be other Bands that Tye faster, than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Mark again.

Mark then again what Kind of Persons he Promotes, and for what likely Reasons, whether for Money or Merit; Honesty, or Faction? Observe likewise the Temper and Quality of his Complicates and Creatures; and whether his Favours be Bounties, or Purchases. If the Former, Judge of his Design, by his Choice. If the Latter, 'tis but a Money-business; which Avarice meeting with an over-weening vanity of mind, is many times mistaken for Ambition. In fine; what Ambition does at Hand, Corruption does at Length; nor is the Power of the One, more dangerous, than the Consequence of the Other.

## Sub-section II.

*The Combination of divers Counsellors.*

Proceed we now, from the Greatness of One Counsellor, to the Combination of Divers: which (to vary the Phrase) is no other than a form'd Confederacy in the Council against the Monarch. Wherein we shall briefly lay down; first, The Advantages of the Faction; the Method, next: And lastly, The Marks of it.

Their Advantages are great, and many; in Regard both of

of their *Privileges*, exempting them from *Question*; of their *Power* to offend their *Enemies*, and *Protect* their *Friends*; and in *Consideration* of their *Opportunities* to look into both hands, and play their *Cards* accordingly. The Advantage of a Confederacy in Council.

In their Method of proceeding, This is their *Master-piece*; Their Method. not only to do all the hurt they can, under a colour of *Good*; but to Engage Persons of more *Honesty*, than *Understanding*, in Offices, seemingly *Serviceable*, but Effectually *Pernicious* to the Publick: By which *Artifice*, those that are *Friends* to the *Government*, do unwarily serve the *Crafty Enemies* of it; secretly undermining the *Honour* of the Prince, under Pretext of *advancing* his *Profit*; lessening his *Power* at *Home*, under the *Disguise* of making him more *formidable* *Abroad*; and where they cannot *persuade* an *Interest*, if it be considerable, they will not stick to purchase it.

As to the rest, the Method is rather *tacitly* to *Invite* and *Countenance* a *Sedition*, than openly to *Head* it; and to Engage rather for it, than *with* it, till the hazard of the first onset be over. In truth, the first *Essay* of a Tumult is but a *Tryal* how the *Ice* will bear; and the *Popular Faction* in the *Council*, is more concern'd, in case of a *Disaster*, how to bring their *Friends* *Off*, than to venture the leading them *On*, for fear of *One*. Whence it comes to pass, That by the *Obligation* of *Encouraging*, and *Preserving* their *Party*, they are *Cast* upon a *Scurvy* *Necessity* of *Discovering* *Themselves*. Rather to Countenance a Sedition, then Head it.

Their *Marks* are many; for they are known by their *Haunts*; by their *Cabales*; by their *Debates*; by their *Domesticks*; by their *Favorites*; and by their manner of *Conversation*, and *Behaviour*. How to know the Faction.

If there be any *Schismatical Teacher* that's *Craftier*, and *Slyer* then the *Rest*, you may be sure of my *Lord's Coach* at His *Preachment*: It gives a *Reputation* to the *Conventicle*, besides the *Gracious Looks* at *Parting*, that pass betwixt his *Honour* and the *Brethren*: which *Exchange*, is but a *secret way* of *Sealing* and *Delivering* a *Conspiracy*. By their Haunts.

Look into their *Cabales*, and ye shall find them all of a *Tribe*, and *Leaven*; *Close*, *Sedulous*, and *Unired*: Their *dayly* *Meetings* relishing of a *Design*, as being *Compos'd* rather for *Council*, than *Entertainment*. By their Cabales.

In their *Debates*, you'll know them by their *Pleas*, *Shiftings*, *De-lays*, *Extrenuations*, *Distinctions*, their, *Frequent*, and *Industrious* *Obstructions*. By their Debates.

## A M E M E N T O.

*Obstructions of Dispatch in favour of Faction. By their Zealous Intercessions for the Enemies of the Prince, and their Coldness for his Friends; by their watchfulness to Seize all Opportunities of helping the Guilty, and of Surprizing the Innocent: by their injecting of Snares, and Scruples, to Amuse, and Distract those that are for the Government, in Order to the Benefit of such as are against it; wherein it is worth a Note, that they all Vote the same way, and, without Question, to the same Purpose: for they shall sooner destroy a Loyal Subject upon a Calumny, than punish a Traitor Convict; and prosecute one man for Writing, or Saying, that it is possible for a Prince to have a Judas in his Counsell, when another shall scape unquestion'd, or perhaps be justifi'd, that calls his Sovereign a Tyrant; and defends the Murder of Kings.*

By their Domesticks.

They may be guess'd at likewise in some measure, by their Domesticks: Especially, by those of near Relation to Trust, Privacy, and Business; as Chaplains, Secretaries, &c. Nor is it enough to have it, like Master like Man, unless it be, like Lady like Woman too; for the pure strain must run quite Thorough, for fear of Tales out of School, and Discovering the Secrets of the Family. But This Rule is not Universal.

By their Favourites.

From their Favourites, much may be gather'd; first, from their Principles, and Abilities. And Then from the Frequency, Privacy, and Particularity of their Entertaining them.

The True Composition of a Confident fit for such a Statesman as we here speak of, is This.

The Composition of a fit Instrument for a Corrupt States-man.

*He must be One that knows the Right, and Opposes it; for there is then less Danger of his Conversion, and Consequently, of Discovering his Patron. Let him be likewise a man of Sobriety, in his outward appearances; of Reputation with his Party; and well-grounded in the Niceties of the Controversie: he must be also a Master of his Passions, Peremptory in his mistakes; and (right or wrong) never without a Text at hand for his Opinions.*

When a Person of This Character, repairs often to a Counsellor of State, a man may, without a Scandalum Magnatum, take the Boldness to suspect his business. But if to Frequency, be added Privacy, it makes the Matter worse; and These Instruments are commonly taken in by Owl-light, or at the Backdoor.

Nor is the Particularity they shew to this kind of Cattell less



less Remarkable. Ye shall see a Faction's Libeller, or Schismatick, taken into my Lords Closets, when a Person of Honour, and Integrity cools his heels in the Hall. One Lawyer admitted, that has Got just as much by Betraying his Country, as Another, (that is Rejected) has Lost by Serving it. Briefly; look through the Offices they dispose of, both Civil, and Military, and in the Persons you may see the Cause they Favour.

By their Conversation and Behaviour.

Another way of Detesting them, is from their Conversation, and Behaviour. They take up other Looks, Phrase, Accent, Habit, Motion, Gesture; than their Neighbours. All which Together, are but a Certain Idiom, or Propriety, of the Faction.

Further; ye shall see a States-man, on the sodain, grow more Devout in Publick, then many an honest man is in Private; and Start from his Politicks, into Cases of Conscience. This Affords matter of Wonder, if not of Question: but observe him; and if he be more Scrupulous of Obeying the Law in some Cases, than he is of opposing it in Others, Pronounce him a Jugler.

So much for the Contrivers of Seditions.

Another sort there are of *Honest Ill Subjects*; a People, I mean, that Hate the Sedition it self, although they Love the Occasion of it. Than These, none make a Greater Conscience of Speaking Reverently of their Sovereign; yet none in shew more Careless what they make Others Think of him. Fiercer declaimers against Rebellion; there are not in the world; but do they Imagine that it is no sin to Cause, what is so horrid an Impiety to Commit? They'll say perchance, They do not Cause it; Yes, yes, there are that do. That is; there are Insatiable Beggars, that suck like Leeches, till they Burst; Asking they very Bread out of the Mouths of Furnishing Thousands; only to add unto their Private Superfluities, or furnish Ornament for Luxe, and Vanity. Are not these Persons in a high Degree Accountable for the Effects of That Oppression?

An honest sort of Ill Subjects.

If Those that follow Courts, would but Consider, how many Snares beset the Thrones of Princes; what Envy waits upon their Trayn; how many Spyes upon the Actions of their Servants; They would tread warily. This is not yet to Blame all Courts, but where they are Vicious, or Corrupt, to shew the Desperate Events of those Disorders: whereof a General Poverty is not the least Considerable; and That inevitably begets a General Discontentment.

A Caveat to Courtiers.

But what's all This to a Sedition? Shall People Rebel because they

## A MEMENTO.

they are Poor? No no, they should not; but what if they will do, what they ought not to do? [*Let no Prince (says the Lord St. Albans) measure the Danger of Discontentments, by This; whether they be Just, or Unjust: for That were to Imagine People to be too Reasonable.*] So that the Question is not, whether the Cause can warrant a Commotion; but whether probably it may *Provoke* one? And whether the *Multitude* will not rather *Tumult*, then *Stare*. It is not Here, *Delirant Reges, Plectuntur Achivi*—but on the Contrary; *Delirant Achivi, Plectuntur Reges*; The Faults of *Servants* are Reveng'd upon the Heads of their *Masters*. But to Reason the Matter orderly, and by Degrees, take it Thus.

The Politicks  
of the Vulgar.

All men do naturally Covet *Power*; Partly for their *Security*; and in Part, for *Glory*: not considering, that *what Each Individual desires, All cannot enjoy*; but finding Themselves Plac'd by Nature in a State of *Equality*, they are apt to Believe, that *One man has as good a Title to Dominion as Another*: and from this *Levelling* opinion proceeds that *Envy* which we find Generally in the *Common-People* against their *Governours*.

Upon the same Grounds, they Contend for *Liberty*; and since they cannot *Rule*, they would at least be Free from the *Restraint* of *Laws* and *Impositions*. But this must not be, neither.

Why Then, let them but know the *Bounds* of their *Subjection*; the *Law*, by which they are to be Govern'd. Yes, That they may; and when they are once enur'd, and wonted to the soft yoke of *Political Order*, and *Authority*; their further Care is chiefly *Profit*, or *Pleasure*; and to provide themselves of such *Conveniences*, as to man's Life are either *Necessary* or *Delightfull*, and Here they Rest.

This is the sum of the *Vulgar Politicks*: Allow the People These *Private Conveniences*, and keep but the *Priests*, and *Lawyers*, from Prating to them of *Christian Liberty*, and *Fundamentals*; the *Generality* shall never trouble the State with *Seditions*: but he that strips them of their little *Lively-hood*, rises a Nest of *Hornets*, From whence ensues This double *Mischief*: A Great deal of *Money* is drawn into a few hands; and a Great number of People are left without any at all: Two Hazards that might pose a wise Prince which rather to submit to.

As a *General Poverty* yields the most desperate matter for *Sedition*; so are the disorders of a Court the most likely means

to

to produce a *General Poverty*: and it is done, by *Corruption*, *Begging*, or *Non-Payment of Debts*.

*Corruption* is a great *Dreyer*; for he that *Gives* must *Take*; he that *Buyes*, will *Sell*. But the Influence which *Corruption* has, upon the *Constitution* and *Morals* of a Court, is more *No-*torious; especially, if it begin *Above*; and in a place where the *Honestest Part* is the *Poorer*. First, it facilitates the *Intro-*ducing of a *Faction*; for he that designs to make a *Party*, shall be sure to out-bid him that only offers at an *Office*. Beside that it makes men *Knaves* in their own *Defence*; after a dear *Bargain*, to lick themselves whole again: and quenches the most generous *Inclinations*, by frustrating the bravest *Acti-*ons; and conferring those *Dignities*, and *Preferments* upon unsuitable Persons for *Money*, which are the *Proper Rewards* of *Virtue*, and *Honour*. In all these *Transactions*, the *Prince* is sold into the hands of his *Enemies*.

The Effects of Corruption in a Court.

In short; *Corruption* does more *Immediately expose* a *Mo-*narch, and *Embroyle* a Court; but *Inordinate Begging* does more *Empoverish* and *distress* a People: particularly, if the *Request* be *preter-Legall*, and *pinching*, either upon *Trade* or *Tillage*: in which cases the *Benefit* of a *Single Person* enters into *Com-*petition with the *Quiet*, and *Security* of a *Nation*.

Court-Beggars

There is an *Evill* yet behind, which of all *Evills*, so trivial in appearance, is (possibly) of the most *fatal*, and *malitious* consequence: and That is, the *Non-Payment of Debts*: which not only draws upon a Court the most *Violent* of all *Passions*; (*Envy*, and *Hatred*) but upon *Monarchy* it self, a *Popular Pre-*judice.

Non-payment of Debts.

'Tis *Dangerous*, in regard both of the *Quality*, and *Number* of their *Creditours*; They are (for the most part) *Citizens*; *Poor*, and *Many*. They lie together in a *Body*, meet *daily*, conferring, and dispersing their *Complaints*, and *Clamours*: they *Break* at last, and Then they *Tumult*.

K See.

Sect. IV.

The CAMP.

The Interests  
of the Souldie-  
ry.

**T**HE Two Grand Interests of the Souldiery, are *Pay*, and *Honour*; that is such *Honour* as belongs to them as *Sword-men*. As for Instance, 'tis their Profession not to put up *Affronts*: They do not love to have their *Under-Officers* rais'd over their heads: *New-Modelling*, or *Disbanding* is a Thing they do not like; and a *Publick disgrace* is never to be forgiven.

By Ill Order in These Two Particulars, are commonly occasion'd *Mutinies*, and *Revolts*: which become then most per-  
rillous when a *disobliged General* has a Purse to Engage a *Discontented Army*. We speak here, of an *Army* Employ'd by a Prince, as a Security against his own *Subjects*, which is quite another Case then against a *Foreign Enemy*; for the same *Popular* and *Ambitious Humour*, that in a Commander *Abroad*, is most *Proper*, and *Necessary*, is, on the Contrary, as *Dangerous* at *Home*. The *safety* of the *State* depending only upon the *Insuperable Virtue*, and *Fidelity* of such a *Person*.

An Ambitious  
Commander  
does better A-  
broad then at  
Home.

A Holy War is  
a Contradicti-  
on.

Some Armies we have known to Prove Troublesome, and to Divide, upon Pretenses of *Religion*; but, a *Holy War* is a Contradiction; and a Story only fit to pass upon *Women* and *Children*. Upon the whole, it seems that an Army, within it self, and without any *Separate Interest*, may be troublesome upon These Three Accounts: Either *Want of Pay*; which causes a *General Mutiny*: or *Disgrace*; which (more Peculiarly reflecting upon such or such *Officers*, *Troops*, or *Parties*) provokes *Animosities*, *Factions*, and *Revolts*: or *Ambition*; which more directly attempts upon the *Sovereignty*. It may be also *Hazardous*, by reason of some *Error* in the *Constitution* of it. That is; if it be composed of Persons *Ill-affected* to the *Government*, it cannot rationally be expected, that it should labour to *Preserve*, what it wishes to *Destroy*.

But we are treating of *Distempers* acquir'd; and rather proceeding from the *ill menage* of an Army, than from the first *Mis-choice*, or founded in the *Judgment* of it: Concerning a *Standing-Army*, enough is said in the foregoing Chapter:

a word:

## M I M E M E N T O.

a word we'll add ; It is in This Regard , an Affair of a Peevish Quality ; that either a *General* has too little Power to do his Masters Business, or enough to do his own.

As it is not safe for a *Monarch*, at any time, to entrust the Chief Officer of an Army, with so much Power, for fear of a *Sedition*, as may enable him to move a *Rebellion*. So is it a work of great Skill and Difficulty, so dexterously to Resume, or Ballance that over-grown Power, as to bring it under Command, without discovering such a *Jealousie*, as may Provoke him to abuse it. Let This suffice, as to the Disorders of an Army within it self.

Hazard not a Rebellion in one Place, for fear of a Sedition in another.

Another Hazard is, lest it be Corrupted into a Dependence, upon some other Interest: into which Defection, it may be partly Driven by the Neglect or Unkindness of the Prince, and partly Drawn by the Allurements of Profit and Reward.

Having spoken of the Mischief a *Seditious Army* may Doe ; very briefly let us behold what Mischiefs a *Vicious and Undisciplin'd Army* may Cause.

There never fails to be an Opposition betwixt the Civil, and the Military Power ; and in like manner betwixt the People and the Souldiery. Whom nothing else can Reconcile but down-right Force and Necessity. So that the fairest State of a Nation over-aw'd by an Army of their own Country men, is an extorted Patience, accompany'd with Readiness to embrace any opportunity of working their Deliverance.

If at the best, the bare appearance of a Force be so Generally distastfull ; what Havock will not the Licentious abuse of it Cause in a Kingdom ? Especially in Populous Towns where One Affront Exasperates a Million, and 'tis not two hours work to destroy an Army.

A *Royall Guard* is of another Quality ; and such it ought to be for Choice and Number ; as both suitable to the Charge they undertake, for the Safety of The Sacred Person of their Prince, and sufficient to the Execution of it.

The Constitution of a Guard-Royall.



# MEMENTO.

SECT. V.

THE CITY.

BY the City, we intend the Metropolis of a Kingdom; which, in many Respects, challenges a Place and Consideration in This Chapter of *Seditions*; Particularly, in Regard of *Inclination and Power*.

Court and City seldom agree. The Reason of it.

There is not (Generally speaking) so fair an Intelligence between the *Court*, and *City*, as for the Common Good of Both were to be wish'd: and This proceeds Chiefly from a *Pride of Blood*, on the *One* side, and of *Wealth*, on the *Other*; breeding *mutual Envy* between them.

This *Envy*, by degrees, boyles up to an *Animosity*, and Then, Tales are Carried to the *Monarch*, of the insolence of the *Citizens*; and Stories, on the other side, to the *People*, of the *Height*, and *Excesses* of the *Court*; and Here's the *Embryo* of a *Sedition*. From Hence, each Party enters into a *Cross Contrivement*. These, how to tame the *Boldness* of the *One*; and Those, how to supplant the *Greatness* of the *Other*: Both equally unmindfull of their *Inseparable Concerns*: the *Citizen*, that he holds his *Charter* of the *Bounty* of his *Prince*; and the *Courtier*, that it is a *flourishing Trade* that makes a *flourishing Empire*. By These Heats, is a *City-Humour* against the *Court*, improv'd into a *Popular Distemper* against the *King*: and here's the *Inclination* of a *Disorder'd City*.

The Power of a City.

As to their *Power*; they have *Men*, *Money*, and *Arms*, at an hour's warning; the very *Readiness* of which Provision makes it worth double the *Proportion*. Their *Correspondencies* are Commonly *strong*, and *Firme*; and their dependencies *Numerous*: for the *Prerogative*, being *Trade*, and *Liberty*, hooks in all Places of the same Interest, to the same *Faction*: Beside That General device, (seeming *Religion*) that stamps the Cause, and Prints a *GOD WITH US* upon it. In fine; a *Potent*, and a *Peculiar City* is a *shrew'd Enemy*.

The Manner of Preparing the People for Sedition.

Their first work is to Possess the *Vulgar* with This Notion, that in some Cases the *Monarch* is limited, and the *Subject* free: intending, that the *Prince* is bounded by the *Law*, and that the *People* are at *Liberty*, where the *Law* is silent.

stem; and so likewise in points of Conscience. (By which Argument, the People Govern, where there is no express Law, and the King only where there is.)

Taking it once for Granted, that the Prince is Limited by the Law; (which Conscientiously he is; for in observing the Law, he does but keep his own word) They presently Conclude, that if the King transgress the Rule of his Power, he forfeits the Right of it: and that for such a Violation, he is accountable to the People, for whose Behoof the Law was made. This is a Specious, but a Poysonous Inference, and rather adapted to a Mutinous Interest, than to a Peaceable, and candid Reason.

A Seditious Principle.

Let a Transgression be supposed; are there any Laws Penal upon the Monarch? But there are none that warrant Tyranny. Right; but there are some yet that forbid Rebellion; and (without questioning the cause) that declare all Violences whatsoever, upon the Person, or Authority of the King, to be Criminal as *Lese Majestatis*, or *Treason*. Are there any Laws now on the Other side, that depose Kings for Male-administration? If none, the Law being Peremptorily against the One, and only not for the Other: what does it, but constitute the Subject, in all cases, accountable for his Resistance, to the Sovereign; and Leave the Supreme Magistrate, in all cases, to answer for his Mis-government to Almighty God? But let the Controversie pass, for we are not here so much to enter into the True State of Matters, as to deliver their Appearances.

The King only Accountable to God, and the People to the King.

And now is the time to bring the *Faylings*, and Misfortunes of the Prince upon the Stage; and by exposing him Naked before the Multitude, to make his Person Cheap, and his Government Odious to his People. Which they Effect, by certain Oblique Discourses from the Press, and Pulpit; by Lamentable Petitions, craving Deliverance from such and such Distresses of Estate; or Conscience; and These they Print, and Publish; converting their (pretended) supplications for Relief, into bitter Remonstrances of the Cruelty and Injustice of their Rulers.

Curled be the Sons of Chama.

By These wiles are the Vulgar drawn to a dislike of Monarchy; and That's the Queue to a discomfite of the Advantages of a Popular Government. (The next step to the Design of introducing it) There's none of This or That they cry at Amsterdam: and in short; from these Grudgings of Mu-

his was the most

*sim*; These *Grumbings* against *Authority*, they slide insensibly into direct, and open *Practises* against it. Alas! what are These *Motions*, but the *sparkling* of a *Popular Disposition*, now in the *Act of Kindling*; which only wants a little *Blowing of the Cole*, to Puff up all into a *Flame*?

From the *Leading*, and *Preparatory Motives* to *Sedition*, now to the more *Immediate* and *Enflaming Causes* of it: which ere reducible either to *Religion*, *Oppression*, *Privileges*, or *Poverty*.

### Subsection I.

#### *Seditions which concern Religion.*

Religious Sedition, either referring to Heresie, or Schism.

Those *Seditions* which concern *Religion*, referr either to *Doctrine*, or *Discipline*: *Heresie*, or *Schism*. The *Former*, is a *Strife* (as they say) for a better, or a worse: a Contest betwixt the *Persuasion* of the *People*, and the *Religion* of the *Government*, in matter of *Faith*; and tending either to *Overthrow* the *One*, or to *Establish* the *Other*. In This Case, the *People*, may be in the *Right*, as to the *Opinion*, but never so as to justify the *Practice*: for *Christianity* does not dissolve the *Order of Society*. To Obey God, rather than *Man*, is *Well*: Let us Obey him then; in not *Resisting* those *Powers* to which his *Ordinance* hath *Subjected* us.

Rebellion upon a point of Heresie, more pardonable, then That from Schism.

Touching This, (with the Brethren's Leave) I take it to be the more *Venial-Mortal Sin* of the Two. That is; the *Rebellion* of *Heresie*, is less *unpardonable*, than That of *Schism*: in regard first, that the *Subject* of the *Difference* is a matter of *greater Import*: Secondly, 'tis not *Impossible*, but the *Mis-persuasion* may be founded upon *Invincible Ignorance*. I do not say that I had rather be an *Arrian*, than a *Calvinist*; but I averr, that he is the *foulest Rebell*, that for the *Slightest Cause*, upon the *Least Provocation*, and against the *Chariest Light*, *Murthers* his *Sovereign*.

Seditions arising from Schism.

Those *Seditions*, which are mov'd upon account of *Schism*, are commonly a combination of *Many* against *One*; of *Error* against *Truth*: and a *Design*, that strikes as well at the *Civil Power*, as the *Ecclesiastick*.

This

This being a Subject which both in the *first Section* of This Chapter, and *Else-where*, is sufficiently discours'd upon; we shall rather address our selves to the *Means* (Peculiar to a *City*) of *conforting*, and *aiding* these *unquiet agitations*, as more properly the Business of our present Argument.

The Means of provoking Sedition.

*Great Towns* have first the Advantage of *Great Numbers* of People, within a *Small Compass* of Place; where, with much *Ease*, and *Privacy*; Those of the *Faction* may hold their *full*, and *frequent Meetings*, *Debate*, *Contrive*, nay, and *Execute* with all *Convenience*. For when the *Plot* is *Laid*; the *Manner*, and the *Time*, *Appointed*: there's no more trouble for the *Rendezvous*; the *Partie's* *Lodg'd* already, the *Town* it self being the most *Commodious Quarter*. 'Tis in respect of these favourable *concurrences*, that men of *Turbulent*, and *Faction's* *Spirits*, rather make choice of *Populous Cities* to *Practise* in.

The Advantages of Great Towns for Seditions.

Another Hazard may arise from the *Temper* of the *Inhabitants*, as well, as from the *Condition* of the Place; and from the very *Humours*, and *Application* of the *Women*, in a notion distinct from That of the *Men*.

From the *Temper* of the *Inhabitants*; first, as partaking usually of the *Leaven* of their *Correspondents*; whom we find very often, both *Famous* for *Trade*, and *Notorious* for *Schism*. (*But Men are Generally so good-Natur'd, as to think well of any Religion they Thrive under.*)

Cities are inclinable to Seditions, from the Temper of the Inhabitants.

Further; their *Employment* being *Traffick*, or *Negotiating* for *Benefit*; and their *Profession* being to *Buy* as *Cheap* as they can, and to *Sell*, as *Dear*: without any measure between the *Risque*, or *Disbursement*; and the *Profit*: they are commonly better *Accountants*, than *Cashiers*; and will rather *stretch* their *Religion* to their *Interest*, than *shrink* their *Interest* to their *Religion*.

They have again, so superstitious a Veneration for the *Justice* of *Paying Money* upon the *Precise Hour*; that they can very hardly believe any man to be of the *right-Religion*, that *Breaks his Day*. And observe it, let a *Prince* run himself deep in *Debt*, to his *Imperial City*, they shall not so much *Clamour* at him for an *ill Pay-Master*, as upon a *Fit of Holiness*; suspect him for an *Heretic*, or *Idolater*. Proposing a *Tumult*, as the ready way to *Pay themselves*; and That I reckon as the first step into a *Rebellion*.

Now, how the *Women* come to be concern'd? That first:

## A M E M E N T O.

*first* - and *Then*, why the *City-Dames* more than *Order*?

Religious Innovators begin with Women.

It is the Policy of all *Cunning Innovators*, when they would put a *Trick* upon the *World* in matter of *Religion*, which they desire may be *Receiv'd* with *Passion*, recommended with *Zeal*, and *Dispersed* with *Deligence*, to begin (with the *Stronger Sex*, though the *Weaker Vessel*) that excellent Creature, *Woman*. And This Course, they take out of These *Considerations*.

Four Reasons why.

*First*, as That *Sex* is Naturally *scrupulous*, and *Addicted* to *Devotion*; and so, more susceptible of *delusive Impressions*, that bear a face of *Piety*.

1.

2.

*Secondly*, as it is too *Innocent*, to suspect a *Deceit*, and too *Credulous*, to *Examine* it; so is it probably not *crafty* enough to *Discover* it.

3.

*Thirdly*, *Women* are supposed, not only to *Entertain* what they *Like*, with more *Earnestness* of *Affection*, but also to *impart* what they *know*, with a *Greater Freedom* of *Communication*: which proceeds from a *Particular propensity* in That *Gracious Sex*, to enter into a *strict Intelligence*, concerning *Matters Curious*, and *Novell*.

4.

A Zealous Sister.

*Fourthly*, They are as well the *Best Advocates*, as the *Freest Publishers*. Get them but once engaged, and at next word all their *Children* are to be taught *short-hand*, and new *Catechisms*; the *Table* shall be *blest* in a *Tune*; not the *Heel* of a *Lark*; no, not so much as a *Prune* in the *White-Broth*, shall scape without a *Particular Benediction*. And *Then*, the *Wrought Cushion*; the *Damask Napkin*; the *Best Room*, and the *First Cut* at the *Table*, are reserved for the *Adored Gem* of the *Family*. The *Good Man* of the *House*, shall not presume to *Close his Eyes*, without an *Opiate*, (to make it *English*) according to the *Directory*; and when he opens them again, next day, 'tis odds, he finds his *wakefull Bedfellow* *Shifting* her *Linnen*, and *Preparing* for a *Mornings Exercise*. This *Reverend Wight* has commonly some *Skill* in *Physick* too; enough to *Comfort* a *Professing Sister* that *Keeps her Bed*, (for grief no doubt) because her *Lord* (perhaps) is call'd *aside* by *State*, or *Business*.

And her Confession.

Nor does The *Pious Maïron* *Confine* her *Domestick Dispositions* within the *Circle* of her *Private Family*; but with an *Overflowing Charity*, reaches a *helping hand* to all the *Members* of the *Distressed Brether-hood*, and (like a *Christian* to the very



very Letter) Lays every thing in Common. These are the Early and Late Advocates; not the *Whim Solicitresses*; What Husband would not Glory to see his Wife, and Fortune so dispos'd of?

Let not some few Mistakes persuade the world yet, that Woman is [not,] of all Creatures, the most accomplish'd, and the best dispos'd to the End she was made for.

That Women are (in General) the *finest Agents* of all others, for a Religious Error, it me seems past all Question: Now, why a *City-Dame*, is for That Purpose, the *first Instrument* even of all Sorts of Women.

First, her *Employment*: Little; she keeps much at Home; and her dead *Leisures*, are, beyond doubt, not absolutely *Thoughtless*. Is not her *Mixture Sociable*, as That of other Mortals? Phasie her *Solitary* Entertainment, how? Does not she wish to see, and to be seen, as well as other Women? Nay, does she not *Contrive* too, how to *Compass* it? *Plays* there are none, perhaps, at hand; *Festivals* come but seldom.

While she's Thus casting, *How and How*, in Steps the *Tempter*; dreams out, an Hour or Two in *Prologue*; and at last, happily hits her *Humour*; asks her what *Church* she goes to? and invites her to a *Lecture*. Away she goes; enters her self a *Member* of his *Congregation*; never to be *Reclaimed*; and so *Farewell* she.

After all This, let me profess, I take the better sort of *Citizens*, for an *Intelligent*, *Frank*, and *Sober* People; nor do I find more *Prudence*, *Modesty*, *Virtue*, then under That *Denomination*. Yet is it not to be Expected, that so Vast a *Multitude* should be, without some *Loose Examples*. And I divide the *Blame*, even *There* too, betwixt an *Idle Course of Life*, and the *Alluring Artifice* of their *Seducers*. But this I stick to, and

*Schismatical Clergy infects the Women's Tongue the City; and a Schismatical City destroys a Kingdom.*

As their *Wives* were to *Provoke* *Excess*, that he might know he must be *Wise*; and they know what a *Perilous Task* it is to fix *Revelry* upon a *weak Bottom*.

As their *Wives* were to *Provoke* *Excess*, that he might know he must be *Wise*; and they know what a *Perilous Task* it is to fix *Revelry* upon a *weak Bottom*.

## Sub-section H.

## Oppression.

**O**ppression provokes Sedition, many waies; and many waies it is *Procur'd*, even by the most *Seditious* *Themselves*; with *Express* end; that it may *provoke* Sedition.

Oppression  
causes Sedi-  
tion.

The Haughty, and Imperious Rudeness of a *Churlish Officer*, that without either *Proof*, or *Hearing*, *Law*, or *Reason*, hand over head *Condemns* and *Punishes*: (only perchance to Vaunt his Power,) This is a Boldness, that Reflects upon the *Safety* and the *Honour* of his *Master*; rendring both the *Minister* hated, and the *Prince* suspected.

*Unlimited Protections*, *Irregular* and *Heavy Taxes*, *Billeting* and *Free-quartering* of *Souldiers*; The *Denyall* of *Equal Right*, &c. Stir up *Seditious Humours* in a *City*. But These are down-right *Provocations*.

A Presby-  
terian Trick.

There are that go a cleaner way to work, that *squeeze* the *People*, under Colour of *serving* the *King*; winding up the *Bin* of *Authority*, till they *Crack* the very *strings*, by which *That* and *Subjection* are rack'd together. They *undo* all, by *Overdoing*; and under an humble shew of *holding* the *Stirrups*, till the *Prince* *fears* himself, they *draw* so *hard* they *turn* the *Saddle*: or if he needs a *Life* to help him *Up*, they'l give him one; but such a *One*, shall cast him *Over*.

The Politick  
Hypocrite.

In fine: what ever may be *Plausible* for the *present*; shall in the *Consequence*; wherein the *Promoters* may either seem *Innocent*, or not appear at all; and a *Publick Obloquy* rest upon the *Sovereign*; This is a *Device* to do Their *Business*.

Is there any *Colourable* fear of a *Sedition*? Their *Counsell* will be then, to raise such a *Force*, as in all likely-hood will cause a *Rebellion*. Are the *Prince's* *Coffers* full? *Occasions* will be sought to *Empty* Them; by *Breaking* with *One* *Interest*, *Wedding* *Another*. A *Thousand* Remedies there are for that *Sur-charge* of *Treasure*. When they have drawn the *Monarch* dry, they know he must be *re-supply'd*; and they know what a *Peevish* task it is, to fix *Regality* upon a *new Rottome*.

As their *first Aime* was to *Provoke* *Expence*, that he might *Want*; it will be now Their work, in such manner to *solicite* his.

his Supply, that he shall suffer more by the Ill Method of it, than Gain by the Recruit. Briefly, if they can Effect, that what *Themselves* call a Supply, the *Generality* may understand to be an Oppression (and so They wish it Understood) The City Clamours first; and Popular Tumults, are but the Forlorn to a Rebellion.

Not that either Force, or Cruelty, can ever discharge a Subject of his Allegiance; Nay, should his Prince command one of his Armes for Dogs-meat; he were a Traitor, should he yet refuse to serve his Master with the other.

Sub-section III.

Privileges.

A Third Particular of no small Force upon the *Genius* of a City, is what concerns their Privileges; whereof they Principally are Tender. First, in points of Trade, and Commerce: Secondly, in Affairs of Order, and Custome, relating to the Counsell, and Government of the City: Thirdly, in Matters of Personal Freedom, and Advantage.

Citizens are tender of their Privileges.

Any Empeachment in the point of Trade, they take hainously; as Disappointing at once, the very Purpose of their Incorporations, the Hopes of their Well-being; and the main Business of their Lives. In this Respect, they are many times so Delicate, as not to distinguish between Benefits of Grace, and Rights of Privilege: claiming a Title to Those Advantages which they hold only by Favour.

Principally in point of Trade

They are likewise Subject to forget, that even their clearest Immunities are but Dependent, and Precarious: and they had need be minded, that to believe them Other, is to Forfeit them. For it implies a Disacknowledgement of the Sovereign Power; which Mistake being once set a foot, obliges the Prince to Resume, for the Safety of the whole, such Indulgences as were only Granted for the behoof of a Part. To This he is Ty'd by evident Reason of State, and by Political Equity; both as a Wise Prince, and as a Pater Patriæ, a Father of his Country. Wherefore away with These Dividing Niceties, since neither Prince, nor People can be Secure, but by Agreement. What can a Single Monarch do without the Obedience, Love, and Service of his People? Or what becomes of a Disfranchised

Their Immunities are Precarious.

Neither Prince nor People can be secure but by Agreement.

*fractured Multitude, without a Head to Govern Their Confusions? But This (in the words of a most Ingenious Person) is a Text upon which the Wise part of the world has used in vain to Preach to the Fools.*

Since so it is, that the *Vulgar* will neither be Taught by Experience, nor persuaded by Reason, we are to take for Granted, that some Grievances lead to Seditions, almost as Orderly, as Natural Causes to their Effects, the Multitude ever siding with Interest, against Virtue.

The Liberty of Exporting Native Commodities raw, and unwrought; and of Importing (possibly) the same Materials in Manufacture, is a Matter of Evil Relish, and of Dangerous Consequence. So likewise is the Employment of Strangers, where the Natives want Work; and the advancing of Foreign Trade, to the Starving of it at home.

Concerning the Other two Particulars, before mentioned, the One Relating to the Frame of a City-Government, the Other, to their Personal Privileges; it shall suffice to Note, that an Encroachment upon either of them, Endangers a Sedition.

#### Sub-section IV.

##### Poverty.

Poverty an Irresistible Incentive to Sedition.

THE Last, and the most Irresistible incentive to Sedition in a City, is Poverty. That is, a Poverty proceeding from Misgovernment. Not but that War, upon what account soever is bad enough: Whether from Dearth, Losses by Fire, or, Storme; Piracies, Banquerupts; the Ravages of War, &c. Yet Here, there's something in the Fate, the Accident, or Manner, of the Calamity, to allay the Anguish of it. Men Quarrel not with Providence for ill Seasons; nor with the Winds, the Waves, or Flames, because of Wracks, or Conflagrations. To suffer by Pirates, or Banquerupts, is but the Chance of Traffick, and the Extremities of War are Common Injuries. But where a Pinching Poverty Seizes a Populous City, and from a Cause too that's within the Reach of Malice, or Revenge; That State's concern'd betimes to look to the Disorder.

The most dangerous Poverty.

The Immediate Cause of This Necessity among the Common sort is want of Work, which proceeds from the decay of Trade, arising chiefly from a General Scarcity of Money; which

which may be Imputed to One or more, of These Ensuing Reasons.

First, The Insatiable Corruption of Rapacious, and Great Officers; in whose Coffers, as in the Grave, Monies are rather Buried, then laid up. Nay, as in Hell it self (I might have said) for they are as Bottomless; and of the Treasure that lies There Condemn'd, the Doom's almost as Irreversible.

Corruption the Cause of Scarcity.

These Private Hoards cannot chuse but produce a Publick Penny; when That Wealth, which would suffice to Employ, and Relieve Thousands, that either Beg for want of Work, or Scrove for want of Bread, is drawn into so narrow a Compass. And yet in This suppos'd Extremity of Affairs, I make a Doubt, whether is more Miserable, the Needy, or the Oppressor?

Private Hoards breed Publick Penny.

Can any Composition more certainly destroy a Nation, then a Concurrence of Power, Pride, Avarice, and Injustice, in the same Persons? But Then again, when the Storme comes; These are the Jonasses, that by the Rabble will be first cast Over-board, to save the Vessel. And This they cannot but forebink, and Tremble at; at least, if ever they get Leisure for a Sober Thought. And let them Look which way they Please; Backward, Forward, Round-about, Upward, Downward, Inward, they are beset with Objects of Terror, and self-affrighted, from the Glass of their own Consciences.

The Composition of wicked Ministers of State.

The Misery of them.

Behind them, they see dreadfull Presidents of Corrupt Ministers, thrown from their Slippery, and ill-menag'd State of greatness: Torne by their Enemies; scarce Pity'd by their Friends; the Mirth of their own Creatures, and the mere Mockery of Those that Rais'd them.

If either they look back;

Forward, they find Themselfe; upon a Precipice, and in great hazard to encrease the Number of those sad Presidents.

Forward;

If they look Round-about them, they are Encompass'd with the Cryes of Widdows, and of Orphans; whose Husbands, or whose Fathers, lost their Lives, in the Defence, (perhaps) of their Prince, and Country. With These, are mingled the Faint Groans of Starving Wretches in the Last Agonies, whose Modesty chose rather to Die silent, then Complaining; and to abide the worst Effects of Want, rather then tell the more Intolerable Story of it. But This to Them, is not so much, as to perceive Themselfe at Bay amidst a Snarling Multitude.

Round about;

In short; Above them, there's an All-seeing Eye, an Unchangeable.

Above them:



Below : or  
within them.

*changeable Decree, and an Incorruptible Judge, that Over-looks, and Threatens Them. Below them, Hell: (or rather 'tis Wish- in Them; an Accusing-Conscience) If This be their Prospekt, how Deplorable is their Condition!*

The Sollici-  
tous estate of  
the Guilty.

Are not Their Pillows stuff'd with *Thornes*? Or when they Venture at a Nap, do they not Dream of *Robberies, and Sediti- ons*? Whom, or What do they not fear? Where is't they think Themselves Secure? Is not Their Table Spread with *Snakes*? Does not Every Bribe look like a *Bait*; Every Servant, like a Spy; Every Strange Face, like somewhat that's worse? And what are their Near Friends, but either *Conscious Partakers, or Dangerous, and Suspected Witnesses*? They find Them- selves Arraign'd by the Preacher; Condemn'd by the Judge; and Strang'd by the Executioner: For being Guilty of the Crime, and Worthy of the Punishment They cannot but Apply the Process to Themselves, and in Imagination, bear the Male- factour Company, even from the Pulpit, to the Gibbet.

Add to all This, the Sting of an Incessant, Restless Jealousie: Not a Look, Whisper, Hint, or Action, but they suspect Themselves the Subject of it. The Holy Text it self, where it Reproves Their Sins, Sounds like a Libell to Them. Nay, were This silly, Innocent Description of them, but in a Tongue which any man Concern'd could understand; some of Their Ears would Tingle at it.

Taxes may  
cause or occa-  
sion a Scarcity  
divers ways.

A General Scarcity of Money, may, in the Second Place, arise from Taxes, and That either Immediately, in Respect of the Burthen; or Consequentially, in Respect of the Occasion; the Inequality; the Manner of Imposing, or Levying Them; or the Subject Matter it self of the Tax.

Touching the Burthen, and Occasion: It Properly belongs to Those in Power to Judge of it, as well how much, as to what end? So in the Rest, The People are likewise to Subject Them- selves to such Determinations as their Superiours hold Conve- nient. Only in case of an Undue Authority imposing, or some Illegal Course of Levying Taxes, there may be some Allowan- cies; which to proportion to their Various Instances, is nei- ther for This Place, nor for my Meaning.

Subjects are to  
Obey without  
Disputing.

That Subjects are to Obey Lawful Commands, without dis- puting the Reasons of Them, is beyond Question. Yet is't not in the Power of Humane Nature, to keep men from Sur- mising, and from Guessing at them. We'll Grant ye too, that

that in some Cases, some People, will in some Sort, do some Things as they ought to do. Yet we are where we were; that is, they will be Guessing still.

If Taxes follow quicker, and run higher then Ordinary; they cry: *so much?* and the next Question's *Why?* ('Tis true, they should not *Aske*, but who can hinder them?)

Is it for the *Honor* or *Safety* of the *Prince*? 'Tis Consequently for the *Publick Good*; and he deserves to be expell'd *Humane Society*, that narrowly prefers his *Little dirty Interest*, before so *Sacred*, and so great a *Benefit*.

A *Third*, is the *Inequality* of *Taxes*; the *Over-pressing* of any *One Party*. As if the *Burthen* lies heavier upon the *City*, then *Country*; upon the *Gentry*, then *Yeomanry*, &c. If upon the *City*, they call it *Spice*; if upon the *Country*, *Oppression*. And in fine; fall the *Disproportion* where it fall can, it breeds ill blood: for That *Weight* breaks the *Back* of any *One Interest*, which evenly dispos'd, would seem no heavy *Load*, upon the *Shoulders* of *All*. *Ferre quam sortem patiuntur Omnes, Nemo recusat*. The *Consequence* of This *Inequality*, is a *General Ruine*, but piece-meal, and *One Part* after *Another*.

Touching the *Manner* of *Imposing*, or *Levying*, we waive That; and pass to the *Subjeckt Matter* of the *Tax*. (A point (how little soever regarded) scarce less Considerable then the *Totall Amount* of it.)

If the *Device* be *Novell*; the *People* shy and ticklish: if there be *Factions* Stirring, and the *Prince* not absolutely *Master*, better raise Thrice the *Value* in the *Rode* of *Levies*, then hazzard the *Experiment* of a *By-way*. 'Tis *Machiavell's* advice concerning *Sanguinary Cruelties*; where *Cruelty* is *Necessary*, do it at once; or at least, seldome as possible. But then be sure to follow it with *Frequent Acts* of *Clemency*; by which Means, you shall be fear'd for your *Resolution*, and be lov'd for your *Good-Nature*: whereas a *Little*, and *Often*, *Terrifies* *Less*, and *Disquiets* people much more, imprinting *Jealousies* of further *Inconveniencies*; so that they know not what to *Trust* to.

Most Certain it is, that as *Many petty Injuries* deface the *Impression* of *One Great Benefit*; so in like manner do *Many slight Benefits* deface the *Impression* of *One Great Injury*; the *Last Act* sinking deepest. For 'tis from Thence, Men Measure their expectation of the *Future*; and as they look for *Good*, or *Bad*, they are *Peaceable* or *Troublesome*, Where-

Leave no  
Mark standing  
to remember  
a Discourtesie  
by.  
Josh. 4. 6.

Wherefore, as it is *Duty* to do *Well* *always*, so 'tis *Wisdom* to do *Well* *last*; and where a *Pressure* cannot be avoided, not to leave standing (so near as may be) any *Memorial* of it: Least [ *When your Children shall ask their Father in time to come, saying, What mean you by these Stones? &c.* ]

The ways of Supplying Princes are *Various*, according to their *Several Interests, Practices, Powers, and Constitutions*. Not to lose my self in *Particulars*, One *General* shall serve for all.

It behoves a State to be very wary, how they Relieve a *Present* need upon the *Foundation* of a *Lasting Inconvenience*: for though in some *Extremities*, there is no *Choice*; yet it very rarely happens, that a Prince is the *Better* for the *Admney*, where he is the *worse* for the *President*. Sir *Thomas Rappe* in a Speech at the *Council-Table*, 1640. (directed to the dashing of a Project, tending to the *Enfeebling* of the *Coyne*, (as he *Phrases* it) Cites the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, giving their Opinion to Queen *Elizabeth*; in these words: *That it was not the short end of Wits, nor starting holes of Devises, that can sustain the Expence of a Monarchy, but sound and solid Courses.* *Horace* his [ *Rem facias, Rem, — Si possis, Recte, si non, quocunque modo Rem* ] will not serve the turn.

Shifting passes  
for Wisdom.

'Tis sharply said of Sir *Francis Bacon*; [ *That the Wisdom of all these Latter Times in Princes Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefs, when they are near; than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof.* ] (But says he again) [ *It is the Solacism of Power to think to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Mean.* ] These are the *Sleights*, the *Ill-husbandry* of Government: through which *Mistakes*, insensibly, a *Great Revenue* moulders away, and yet the State never out of *Debt*.

Excessive  
Building.

*Excessive Building* is another Cause of *General Scarcity*; for it leaves the *Country* too *Thin*, and *Over-peoples* the *City*: Enhancing the *Rate*, and Consuming the *Means* of *Living*. It wastes the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; It *Impoverishes* also, and *Disobliges* the *Populacy*: (All that is got in the *Country*, being spent in the *City*) beside the hazardous disproportion betwixt the *Head* and the *Body*.

One Reason of this *Scarcity*, may be from some Defect in the *Law* it self. as where *Sufficient Provision* is not made for

## A M E M E N T O.

for strict and peremptory payment upon Bond. Men will not part freely with their Money, where they may be put off by Shifts and Delays, and driven to a Vexatious Suit to get it In again.

Another great Inconvenience proceeds from a General Grasping at more Trade than they can Master: which causes many Failings one upon the Neck of another.

To what's already said, (not to be endless) we'll only add Knavery of Two Causes more. The One, is the deceit, and Knavery of Artizans and Trades-men; who for a Private Gain betray the Interest of the Publick; and invert the Ballance of Trade, by such Abusive Manufactures, as are neither Saleable abroad, nor Serviceable at Home, which both necessitates the Importation of Foreign Commodities, and hinders the Issue of Native: beside the Treble Charge; their Dearness, and their little Usefulness consider'd.

We shall Conclude with Pride: which were't in nothing else but what's expended upon Guildings, Gold and Silver Lace, and Foreign Curiosities of Needle-work, would not be inconsiderable. But where 'tis General, and extends both to all Sorts of Superfluities, and all Degrees of Persons; That City goes by the Post to Ruine: for Pride, is not only the Fore-runner of Destruction, and the Cause of it; but the Loud, and Crying Provoker of it.

### Sect. VI.

## THE COUNTRY.

That Interest which contributes the Least to a Sedition, and suffers the most by it, is That of the Country: which is properly comprised under Tillage, and Pasture. For I reckon all Populous Places, (whether Towns or Villages) that subsist by steady Traffick, or Handy-crafts, to be no other then Dependencies upon the Metropolis; which is usually, That in Proportion to the Kingdom, which the Principal City, of every Province, is to the Other Parts of it.

This Interest seldom or never Heads a Sedition upon it's own Account; and when it does engage, under Protection possibly of the next strong Hold, or in favour of some neighbouring,

The Country  
is sure to be  
undone by a  
War.

The Fruits  
of it.

and *Seditious Market-Town*, we do not find much hurt the *Country-man* does, so long as the *Sword*, and *Plough* are managed by the same *Hand*. If they forsake their *Husbands*, and turn *Souldiers*; they fall under another Notion. But in short; let the *Cause* be what it will, and the event of a *Warr* what it can; They are sure to be undone by it: wherefore They may well be *Friends to Peace*, to whom *War* is so great an *Enemy*.

Is there a *Warr* commenced? Their *Cariages* must wait upon the *Army*, Their *Provisions* feed them: Their *Persons* attend them, yes, and Their *Contribution Pay* Them. Their *Teams* must serve the *State*; Their *Wives*, and *Girls*, the *Souldiery*: They must be *Mounting Dragoons*, when they should be *Plowing*; *Lugging* their *Beans* and *Bacon* to the *Head-Quarter*, when they should be *Sowing*; and at last, scarce a *Lame Jade* to get in that little *Harvest*, which the wild *Troops* have left them: Their *Cattel* are *Driven* away by one *Party* to day, Their *Corn* taken by another to *Morrow*, and when they are *Thoroughly Plunder'd*, because they had something; they must afterward expect to be *Beaten* too, because they have *Nothing*.

Are not These fair *Encouragements* to make *Husbandmen Seditious*? And yet, This *Interest* is several waies made use of to *Promote Sedition*. Particularly, by *Three sorts* of *People*; The *Discontented Nobleman*, the *Rich Churle*; the *Stiff*, and *Contentious Free-born-Subjeet*.

A Discontent-  
ed Nobleman.

Ambition.

Pride.

A *Great Person* may become *Weary* of the *Court*, and withdraw into the *Country*, out of divers unquiet Considerations: Out of *Ambition*, *Pride*, or *Revenge*.

If his *Trouble* be *Ambition*, his *Course* is to strengthen himself by *Popularity*, and make a *Party*, by spending his *Revenue* in a *Bountifull*, and *Open Hospitality* upon the *People*: which is the most *Winning* and the most *spreading* of all *Obligations*. His *Jades*, his *Kites*, his *Currs*, are free to all *comers*: his *Family* is the whole *World*; and his *Companions* are the *Wits*, and the *best of Good-fellows*.

If his *Retirement* be out of *Pride* as chusing rather to be the *first Person* in the *Country*, then the *Second* or *Third* at *Court*: His business is *Popularity* too, though perhaps not *Aiming so high* (for there are a sort of *People*, insufferably *haughty* in their *Looks*, *Garbe*, and *Language*; that have not

*Courage*.



*Strong enough to be Ambitious; This Man's attended by the best Parasites that are to be had for Money.*

The Third Dis temper is *Revenge*; and That's the worst of Revenge. the Three: In *Ambition*, there's somewhat that's Noble. Pride indeed, is a *Base*, and *Abject Vice*, (that is, a *Cowardly Pride*: Nay 'tis at best, but a *Simple Sin*) But *Revenge* is *Black*, and *Diabolical*. Let it proceed whence it will. Whether from some *Affront*, *Repulse*, *Neglect*; Nay, a *Wry Look*, or a *Mistaken Hint* raises this Devil.

This is a Humour now of another Complexion: *Morose*, *Unpleasant*, and rather watchfull to Emprove an Opportunity of *Mischief*, then *Laborious* to prepare it. In the House of a Person haunted with This Fury, you shall find Throngs of *Silenc'd Ministers*, *Discharg'd Officers*, *Crop-ear'd Schismatics*, *Broken Citizens*, &c.

These are the *Dangerous Malecontents*, whose *Differing Inclinations* of Temper are no hinderance to their *Unity* of Design, where the *Safety* of the Prince and Government is the Question.

Next to This *Discontented Nobleman*, Follows the *Rich* The Rich *Churl*: which is a Creature, that opposing *Wealth* to *Dignity*, becomes the *Head* of the People, for his *Sauciness* of bearing up against the *Power*, and *Nobility* of the Court. It is scarce to be Imagined, The *Interest* of this *Chuff* in a *Popular Scuffle*, especially, if he has gotten his *Estate* by a *Rusticall*, and *Plodding Industry*: for Then the *Vulgar* Reckon him as One of their *Own Rank*, and support him, as the *Grace*, and *Dignity* of their Order.

We come now to the *Stiff*, and *Contentious Free-born-Subject*: the *Quickest*, and the *Sharpest Youth* of the Three. The Contentious Free-born Subject. He'll tell ye to a hair, upon what Point, *Prerogative* becomes *Tyranny*: How far a *Subject* may promote a *Rebellion*, and yet be honest himself, and Cleave the very *Aiome*, that divides the Rights of *King* and *Subject*. Does any Minister of State, or *Justice* pass his Commission, but the tenth part of a *Scruple*? he cries, 'Tis *Arbitrary*, *Illegal*, and an *Encroachment* upon the *Birth-right* of a *Free-born-People*. Let him be Question'd, and the Matter Scann'd, here's his *Dilemma*. Either by *Carrying the Cause*, he *Justifies*, and *Puffs up* the People; or by *Suffering for it*, he *Enrages* them: but still *Obliging* them both waies; the One way as their *Champion*, and the Other, as their *Martyr*.

Upon the Summ of the Matter, That Government must be Carried very even, which These Instruments, in Combination, shall not be able to discompose.

Touching the *Common Sort*; it is so little in their Power to Embroyl a Kingdom, and so much less their Interest to do it, that This Little is enough said concerning Them; setting aside the Influence they have upon the Subject we are now entering upon.

### Sect. VII.

#### *The Body Representative.*

THE *Seaventh* and Last Interest we are to Treat of, is the *Body Representative*, which is but *One Grand Interest* made up of all the Rest; and as the Whole stands well, or ill-affected to the Government, so commonly does *That*. Yet it falls out sometime, that the *Diligence*, and *Stickling* of a *Faction* gets the Start of a *General Inclination*. It would ask an Age, to reckon up all the Inconveniencies which may arrive from the Evill Composition of This Assembly: but so strict an account will not be Necessary, in regard that the Prince may, at his Pleasure, Remedy all, by *Dissolving* them.

One great Defect, is that in many places they have no *Stared Rule* how far their Cognisance extends; No *Measure* of their *Privileges*: through which Default, more Time is spent, and too too oft, more *Passion* stirr'd, about the bounds of Their *Authority*, then the main *Business* of their *Meeting*. Beside the desperate Influence of This *Mysteriuous Uncertainty*; upon the Prince, and Publick: Under which Colour, nothing so *Seditious*, but it may both be *Introduc'd* and *Protected*. Suppose a *Notion* in the Assembly directly against the *Crown*: The Prince takes Notice of it; and demands *Reason* for it. Is't not a fine Reply, that to deny *Liberty of Speech*; to take Notice of any Thing in *Debate*; to Question any *One Member* without the Leave of the Rest, is a *Breach of Privilege*.

The *Representative* we here speak of, answers (the nearest of any) to the *House of Commons* in *England*; which *Resemblance* will much facilitate the task we are now upon, having only to look back into the History of *Charles the Martyr*, to find the *Greatest Mischiefs*, and the *Foulest Crimes* which such

a Convention in disorder may be capable of: not meddling with the Names of Persons, but contenting our selves to discover the Arts, Crquards, and Occasions of Seditions, without reproaching the Authors of them.

The Dangerous Mixture of a Representative, we may divide into these Three Parties: The Designers of Mischief; the Permitters of it; and the Incompetent Judges of it: whose Failings are either of Commission, Omission, or Ignorance.

The Dangerous mixture of a Representative.

To begin with the First. The Designers are either the Ambitious Heads of the Faction, that aim at Power, as well as Profit, in the Subversion of the Government; or such Dependencies, as they can Engage by Menace, Flattery, fair Pretences, Money, or Preferment: These in their Several Places, promote the same Seditious Interest, and every man knows his Station.

The Designing Party.

They have their Contrivers, their Speakers, their Sticklers, their Dividers, their Moderators, and their Blanks: (their I-and NO-men) by which Method and Intelligence, all Debates are managed to the Advantage of the Party and Occasion. They know when to Move, when to Press, when to Quit, Divert, Put off, &c. and they are as Skilful in the manner of Moulding their Business, as they are Watchful for the Season of Timing it: Add to this Agreement and Confederacy of Design, their Zeal and Earnestness of Intention; and what will not an Indefatigable Industry, joyned to these Improvements of Order and Counsel, be able to accomplish? [The Lower and Weaker Faction is the firmer in Conjunction (says Sir F. Bacon) and it is often seen, that a few, that are Stiff, do tire out a Greater Number, that are more Moderate.]

Their Industry and Combination.

Yet to the Miracles that are wrought by Forecast and Assiduity, there is still requisite a Matter predispos'd, and fit to work upon: and that's the Dress, or Cleanly Couching of the Project. 'Tis not at first dash to attempt the Person of the King; but the Multitude must by Degrees, be made sensible of the Faults of his Ministers; and Instructed to clamour against Oppression and Profaneness. Why should a Free-born Subject be Press'd with Taxes and Obedience, or a Christian Libertine be ty'd to worship by a Set-form? Is it not against the Fundamentals of a Mixt Monarchy, (That ridiculous supposition) for the Supream Magistrate to Impose upon his Co-ordinate Subjects? Or, where is it commanded in the Bible, for people to Kneel at the Communion, or to stand up at Gloria Patri?

The Matter they work upon.

These

Their manner of Proceeding. These are *fore Grievances* indeed, and now the Humour's ripe for *Petitions* to the *Senate*; which being both Procur'd and Fram'd by a *Caball* of the *Senators* themselves, cannot fail of being acceptable to the *Faction*: who by this Artifice, get the Credit of being taken for the proper *Arbitrators* of all *Differences* betwixt *King* and *People*, through which Mistake, the *Popular Representative* becomes both *Party* and *Judge*, and it is then no hard matter to Guess what will become of the *Prerogative*.

By making the *most* of all *Complaints*, and the *worst* of all *Abuses*; they bespeak a *Compassion* for the *One side*, and they provoke an *Odium* toward the *Other*: which *Amplification* renders exceedingly *Necessary* the Remedy of a *Through-Reformation*.

The *Subject* is to be *Free* in *One Point*, and the *Monarch* limited in *Another*. These *Courts* are to be *Abolish'd*, Those *Counsellors* to be remov'd, &c. — And in fine, when the *Prince* has yielded, till they want *Matter* for *Complaint*, their *Fears* are not less *Clamorous* and *Important*, than were their *Complainings*. Of which unpitiful and unlimited *Distemper*, this is the certain *Issue*; from one *Desire* they proceed to another, till the *Prince*, to secure their *Jealousie*, has parted with all possibility of *Preserving Himself*.

This is their *Course*, where they find the *Government* already in *Disorder*; but how to *Introduce* that *Disorder*, is quite another *Point* of *Cunning*.

They are here onely to *procure* those *Grievances*, for which they are afterward to provide *Remedies*, and to cast the *State* into a *Disease*, that with better *Pretense* they may give it *Physick*; Siding with the *Prerogative* against the *People*, in the first place, and with the *Prerogative* in the next. In a word, their *Services* are *Snares*; they give a little, that they may take all, and by a *plausible Oppression*, provoke a *Barbarous Rebellion*.

The Permitters of Seditious Con-  
cervements.

Another sort of ill Ministers in a *Representative*, are the Permitters of these *Abuses*: Such as being Chosen and Entrusted for the *Publick Weal*, Abandon their *Stations*, and Deliver up their *Country*. Betwixt whom, and the *Conspirators themselves*, there is but this *Difference*: The *One* Quits the *Breach*, and the *Other* Enters: These, throw down  
their

their Arms, and Those take the Town; what the One Party carries by Treason, the Other loses by Cowardice.

Of these Deserters, some are taken Off by Profit, Pleasure. The Deserters Vanity, Sloath, Neglect or Partiality; Others are led by of their Trust their Passions; as Fear, Anger, &c. In all which Cases, are taken off whoever prefers a private Interest to a Publick, Betrayes his Trust.

Some Peoples Mouths are Stopp'd with Offices, Rewards, by Profit, fair Promises, Hopes of Preferment, &c. And These upon the very Crisis of a Debate, find Twenty Shifts, to waive the Pinch of the Dispute, and let the Question fall; even though the Crown it self depend upon the Issue of it. This is done either by coming too late, or perhaps not at all; by going away too soon, or saying Nothing when they are there: by which Discouragements, the Cause is lost, only for want of their Arguments and Voices to Turn the Scale.

Others are Drawn from their Duties by Pleasure; perhaps Pleasure, a Party at Tennis, Bowles; Chards; a Pack of Dogs, a Cock fight; or a Horse-match, a Comedy, a Good-fellow, or a Mistress. And while they are thus Employ'd, the Vigilant Election steals a Vote that's worth a Kingdom.

Some again are so Transported with the Vanity of Dress, Vanity, and Language, that rather than serve the Publick with One hair amiss, or in One broken Period, they'll let the Publick perish. *Mallent Rem-Publicam turbare, quam Capillos.* These, while their Country lies at Stake, are Ordering of their Heads, and Polishing the Phrase, Shaping the Parts of a Ser-Speech, till 'tis too late to use it. Nothing methinks does less become a Grave Assembly, than This same *Facilitatula loquendi*; this same Rhetorical Twittle-tattle; it spias out so much Time in tedious Circumstances, that it makes a man e'en sick of a Good Cause, and for the very Form, prejudice the Reason of it.

Sloth and Neglect, are yet more dangerous in a Senatour; not only in Regard of Surprises from the Faction, but of Discontentments likewise from the People. These think a Wet Day, or a Cold Morning, a sufficient Discharge of their Attendance: and while they are taking 'r other Napp, or 'r other Bottle, the Monarch perhaps has lost his Crown, or the Subject his Liberty.

Come to particular Cases, how many Families are lost by Disap-



*Disappointments*; by *Relying upon Promises*; *Delays from time to time*! How many *Just and Sad Petitions* are *thrown aside, unregarded*; as *serving only for waste Paper*? and so far from *Relief*, they cannot obtain so much as a *bare Reading*.

by Partiality.

*Distinguishing of Persons*; in *Matters of Equity*, is furthermore a great *Abuse*; where a *Friend*, an *Acquaintance*, or some *By-Respect* shall interrupt the *Speedy and Direct Course of Justice*: (I do not say *Devert*; though to *forbear helping the Right*, or not to *hinder the Wrong*, because of such or such an *Interest*, is but a *Negative Oppression*.)

Passion.

Those that are mov'd by *Passions* from their *Duties*, are not less *Culpable* than the *Rest*. For a *Good Patriot* fears *Nothing*, but to be *Dishonest*; *Hates Nothing*, but *Iniquity*; and knows no other *Friend* but *Justice*.

Fear,

Is any *Thing* propos'd, which to my *Reason* appears of *Dangerous Consequence*; *Unlawful* to my *Conscience*; *Dishonourable* to my *Prince*, or *Country*? Do I *Discharge* my *Soul* to *God* and to the *World*, in not opposing it? because, forsooth 'tis my *Lords Interest*, or *Project*. Where 'tis my *Office* to *wishstand* a *Publick Injury*, 'tis my *Act* if I *suffer* it: Nor will it serve the turn to say, *Alas! I'm but one Man, what should I struggle for?* A *Noble Truth* and *Equity*, though single, ought to be maintain'd against the *World*. But very rarely is *That* the *Case*; for those *Particulars* that, under *Colour* of this *Singleness*, *relinquish* and *withdraw*, would in *Conjunction* cast the *Ballance*. The *Question* is but *This*:

Whether shall I rather *venture* the *Loss* of an *Office*, or the *Loss* of my *Country*? Whether shall I rather *disoblige* a *Powerful Subject*, or *betray* my *Lawful Prince*? Whether in *fine*, shall I rather choose, *Modestly* to *Oppose* a *Faction*, or *Tamely* to *desert* my *Conscience*.

or Personal  
Animosity.

Some we find *Prepossess'd* with *Personal Animosities*; and these *Particular Piques*, are many times, the *Bane* of *Publick Designs*. They do not so much heed the *Matter*, as the *Man* that *Promoves* it; They are *Resolv'd* to like *Nothing* from *That Hand*; and while they are *Cavelling* about *Niceties*, and *Nothing*; the *adverse Party* runs away with the *Sum* of the *Contest*.

Another *Infelicity* is where *Elections* are *Carried* by *Recommendation*, *Fortune*, or *Affection*; without any *Regard* to the *Abilities* of *Persons*.

These

*These are a Dangerous Party, and a fit Subject to work upon. Fools are fit*  
 For being more addicted to follow the *Appearances*, then *Capable* of *Comprehending* the *Reasons* of Things; They are not on-  
 ly *Liable* to fall into *Mistakes*, but *Obstinate Maintainers* of  
 Them; and in all Cases *Determinable* by *Plurality* of *Voices*,  
 the *Greater Number* of *Fools* weighs down the more *Pruden-*  
*tiall Counsels* of *Fewer wise Men*: Nay, which is most *Ridicu-*  
*lous and Miserable*; (but that in *Popular Suffrages* it must be  
 so) *His Vote* many Times *Casts a Kingdom*, that has not *Brain*  
 enough to *Rule his Private Family*; *Deciding the Question*,  
 without *understanding the Debate*.

We have *Prosecuted This Theme* of *Miscarriages*; far  
 enough. From the *Discovery*, our next *advance* is to the *Re-*  
*medies* of them: *The harder undertaking*; for *Faults* are more  
*easily found, then mended*.

C A P. X.

*How to prevent the Beginnings, and hinder the Growth of*  
*Seditions in General; together with Certain Particular Re-*  
*medies, apply'd to the Distempers of Those Seven Interests,*  
*mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.*

**T**HE Two main Pillars that support Majesty, are Love and  
 Reverence: To which are oppos'd, (as the *Foundation* Love and Re-  
 of a Prince his *Ruin*) *Contempt and Hatred*. What are *Disloy-* verence are  
*al Actions*, but the *Issue* of *Disloyal Thoughts*? Or what are the *Pillars of*  
*General Tumults*, but the *Rational Effects* of *General Discon-* Majesty.  
*tents*? (The *Violent* part being no other, then the *Manifesta-*  
*tion* of a *Treason* already *Form'd* and *Perfected* in the *Affec-*  
*tions*) So that to set the *Heart Right*, is the *Prime Duty* of a  
*Good Subject*, and Then to observe the *Law*, for *Love* of the  
*Authority*. *Kings* are first *Render'd* *Odious*, or *Despis'd*, and  
 in *Persuance* of *Those Passions* they come at last, to be *De-*  
*thron'd*, or *Murther'd*. That is, to be *Dethron'd*, or *Murther'd*  
*Actually*; (for even the first *Malicious Motion* was *Murder*  
 in the *Heart*, and betwixt *God* and our own *Souls* every *Se-*  
*dicious Thought* is a *Rebellion*.)

Although no Prince can be *Mighty*, without the *Love* of his  
 N People,

The Power of  
a Prince de-  
pends upon  
the Love of  
his People.

People, or Secure under their Hatred, (the One being Neces-  
sary to his Greatness, and the Other Sufficient to his Undoing.)  
yet must we not suppose the Subjects Love more Needful to  
their Prince, than His to Them: since upon His Protection  
depends Their Welfare; no less then, upon Their Support, His  
Power.

Because the Hazard of disuniting is mutual, it must not be  
suppos'd that it is therefore equal; nor that the Crime is so,  
where Tumult and Oppression are the Question. They are  
Both ill, but with exceeding odds of worse betwixt them:  
The One does but affront the Mode of Government; the O-  
ther strikes at Government it self: the very Ends, and Reason  
of it;—Peace, Order, and Society.

A Prince without the Hearts of his Subjects, is in a bad  
Condition; but he that falls from Hatred, to Contempt, his  
Case is Desperate. For when they neither Love his Person, nor  
Fear his Power; They are both Provok'd to Contrive mischief,  
and Embolden'd to Execute it.

The Grounds  
of Sedition.

These are the General, and Enflaming Grounds of Seditions;  
which may be easily prevented, and Cut off in their next Im-  
mediate Causes. The Difficulty is, for a Prince to be Popu-  
lar, without making himself Cheap; to Gratifie his People,  
without Derogating from his Authority; and so to Comply with  
the Interest of his Subjects, as not to be wanting to the Ne-  
cessities of his Crown. In the Due Temperation of which Mix-  
ture, Consists, in a Great measure, the skill of Governing; and  
thereupon depends the Peace, and Safety of the Government.

In all well-ordered Monarchies, there are certain Metes and  
Boundaries, that Part the Rights of King, and People; and  
These, are either Laws, or Customs; providing for the Com-  
mon Good, and Safety, both of the Subject in his Obedience,  
and of the Sovereign in his Authority. Let a Prince therefore  
stick to his Ancient Laws, and he may be sure his People will stick  
to him; and more he needs not ask, being by Those Laws ar-  
med with Power sufficient to the Intent of Government: or, at  
the worst, if any Defect there be, the Fault is imputed to the  
Constitution, and not to the Person.

Let a Prince  
Stick to his  
Laws, and his  
People will  
stick to him.

There may indeed occur such Cases, and Emergencies of  
Imminent, and Publick Danger, as (being un-foreseen by the  
Wisdom of former Times) are left without a Rule. Of These,  
beyond Dispute, The only Supreme Governour is the only Su-  
preme.

*prudent Judge*; and under so strict a *Necessity*, he not only may, but ought to dispense with *Common Formalities*, in Order both to the *Discharge* of his *Duty*, and the *Welfare* of his *People*: His *Oath of Protection*, Implying him Vested with a *Power of Protecting*; and his *Conscience*, as a *Governour*, obliging him to be careful of his *Charge*.

The Objection is *Frivolous*, that This Supposition opens a door to *Tyranny*; because that at This Rate, a *Prince* has no more, but to pretend a *Danger*, and Then to do what he pleases. 'Tis very right, a *Prince* may *Tyrannize* under This Colour; but 'tis as certain, that a *People* cannot *Scruple* This *Inconvenience*, without incurring a *Greater*: for 'tis an Opinion *Destruktive* of *Government*: it self; all *Subjects* being equally expos'd to the same *Hazard*; under all *Governments*; and it is inevitable, that either the *King* must have it in his *Power* to *Oppress* his *People*, or the *People* have it in theirs to *Destroy* their *Sovereign*. (and betwixt the Ills of *Tyranny* and *Rebellion*, all the world knows the *Disproportion*) Wherefore let *Subjects* hope and believe the best of their *Prince* his *Will*, and *Inclination*; without meddling with his *Power*; for it is not less his *Interest* to be well *Obey'd*, and *Belov'd*; then it is theirs, to be well *Govern'd*.

Yet when a *Prince*, by *Exigencies* of *State*, finds himself forc'd to waive the *Ordinary Path*, and *Course* of *Law*; the Less he swerves, the *Better*: and the more unwilling he appears to *Burthen* his *People*, the more willing shall he find them to *serve* him. Especially, he should be *Cautelous*, where *men's Estates*, or *Freedom*s, are the *Question*; to make the *Necessity* as *Manifest* as is possible, and the *Pressure* as *Light*, and as *Equall*, as *Consults* with his *Honour*, and *Convenience*: Mixing however with This *General Indulgence*, such a *Particular Severity*, where his *Authority* is *Disputed*, that the *Obedient* may have *Reason* to *Love* his *Goodness*, and the *Refractory*, as much, to *Fear* his *Displeasure*.

By These Means, may a *Prince* preserve himself from the *Hatred* of his *People*, without exposing himself to their *Conempt*; and in Order to the avoiding of That too, we'll take up This *Observation* by the way: That *Subjects* do *Generally Love*, or *Hate*, for their own *Sakes*; but when they *despise* a *Prince*, it is for some *Personall Weakness*, or *Indignity* in himself.

Nothing makes a *Monarch* *Cheaper* in the *Eyes* of his *People*, than That which begets an ill opinion, either of his *Prudence*,

The Oath of Protecting, implies a Power of Protecting.

Where a King has it not in his Power to Oppress his People, They have it in theirs to destroy their King.

A Mixture of Indulgence, and Severity, Obliges the Loyal, and Awa the Refractory.

The Influence  
of Prudence  
and Courage.

or *Courage*; and if they find once that he will either be *Over-~~reach'd~~*, or *Over-aw'd*, they have his measure. By *Courage* here, we do not intend a *Resolution* only against *Visible* and *Pressing Dangers*; but an *Assurance* likewise, and *Firmness* of mind against *Andacious* and *Threatning Counsels*.

The *Prudence* we intend, is of a more extensive *Nation*; and from the most *Mysterious Affairs* of *Royalty*, descends to the most *Private*, and *Particular Actions* of a *Princes* Life. It enters into his *Cabinet-Counsels*, and *Resolves*; his *Publick Acts* of *State*; his very *Forms* of *Language*, and *Behaviour*; his *Exercises*, and *Familiar Entertainments*. In fine; It is scarce less *Dangerous* for a *Sovereign* to separate the *Prince*, from the *Person*, even in his *dayly Practises*, and *Conversations*; then to permit *Others* to *Divide Them* in their *Arguments*: And in a word; to secure himself from *Contempt*, it behoves a *Monarch* to Consider, as his most *Deadly Enemies*, such as *Brave* his *Authority*; and by no means to allow, even in his most *Acceptable Servants*, and most *Familiar Humours*, too great a *Freedom* toward his *Person*.

A Prince that  
hears Affronts,  
and Familiari-  
ties from his  
Subjects, Les-  
sens himself.

Not but that a *Sovereign* may in many Cases *Familiarize* with his *Subjects*, and, by so doing, win the *Reputation*, of a *Wise* and *Gracious Prince*: Provided that the *sweetness* of his *Nature*, cause him not to forget the *Severity* of his *Office*; and that his *Stooping* to his *People*, prove not an *Emboldening* of them to come up to him. This is a *Course* to *Prevent Sedition*, in the *First Cause*, and check it in the *Bud*.

How to hinder  
the Spreading  
of a Seditious  
Humour.

But if it come once to shew it self and *spread*; there is first *Requisite*, (upon a *Clear* and *Open Proof*) a *Speedy Execution* of *Laws* to the *Utmost Rigour*. I say, [upon a *Clear* and *Open Proof*] for in such cases, 'tis of great *Advantage* to a *State*, to make the *Crime* as evident as the *Punishment*, that the *People* may at once *Detest* the *Fact* and *Approve* the *Justice*. I say Likewise [a *Speedy Execution*] for *Delay* brings many *Inconveniences*. It gives a *Faction Time* to *Contrive*, and *Unite*; and *Boldness* to *Attempt*: for it looks as if they that sit at the *Helm* were either more *sensible* of the *Danger*, or less *mindfull* of their *Duty* then becomes them. Lastly; whereas it is added, [to the *utmost Rigour*.:] My meaning is not to extend the *Severity* to a *Multitude* of *Offenders*, but to *Deterre* the *Generality* by making some few, and *Dreadfull Examples*.

Nay my Advice should be, to Pick these Few too. They should



should not be Fools, Madmen, or Beggars; but the *Wiseſt*, the moſt *Circumſpect* and *Wealthy* of the Party: the *Leaders* and *fiſt Starters* of the *Quarrel*: to ſhew that neither *Confidences* ſhould *Protect* them, nor their *Shifts*, and *Politicks* avail them. But above All; let not their *Money* ſave Them, for That's no other then *Setting of a Price* upon the *Head* of the *Sovereign*.

Another *Expedient* to Stop a *ſpreading Miſchief*, is for a Prince to keep a watchful Eye over *Great Aſſemblies*; which are either *Irregular* and *Lawleſs*; or *Regular* and *Conſtant*; or *Arbitrary* and *Occaſional*.

Let a Prince keep an Eye over Great Aſſemblies.

Concerning the *Fiſt*; It is ſeldom ſeen, where the *Manner* of a *Meeting* is *Tumultuary*, that the *Buſineſs* of it is not ſo too; and, where *Many* *Concur* in *One unlawful Act*, 'tis no *hard-matter* to perſwade them to agree in Another. So that to *fruiſtrate the Ends*, and *prevent the Conſequences* of ſuch *Meetings*, the ſureſt way is for the *Sovereign* to employ his *Authority*, *Timely*; and *ſtrictly* to *Prohibit* them. If *That* does no *Good*; He has no more to do, but *Instantly* to *Scatter* Them by *force*, and *ſingle out* the *Heads* of the *Riot*, for *Exemplary Punishment*.

Let him be Quick.

*Touching Conventions* which are *Regular* and *Steady*; It concerns the *Chief Magiſtrate* not to be without his *Creaſures*, and *Discoverers*, in *Thoſe Aſſemblies*; and to ſee that they be well *Influenc'd* as to the *Government*. For *Instance*; when the *People Meet* to *Chooſe Officers*; when *Thoſe Officers* meet to *Advise upon Buſineſs*, 'tis worth the while for a Prince to learn how the *Pulſe Beats*; and *Principally*, to *Over-watch Churches*, and *Courts of Judicature*: Both in regard of the hazard of *Errours* in *Matters of Law*, and *Religion*; and of the *Multitude*, being ever in *readineſs* and *humour* to *Entertain* them.

and Watchful.

As to *Meetings Arbitrary* and *Occaſional*, heed muſt be taken to the *Perſons aſſembling*, the *Occaſion* which brings them *Together*, and the *Matter* whereupon they *Treat*; which we ſhall handle in their proper *Places*, and ſo paſs from *Generals* to *Particulars*, beginning with the *CHURCH*.

## Sect. I.

*By what Means Heresies and Schisms may be kept out of the CHURCH; Their Encrease hinder'd, and the Seditious Consequences of Them Prevented: With the Remedies of Other Milchiefs arising from Disorders in the CHURCH.*

The most dangerous of all Sects.

Since so it is, that Divisions in the Church have no further Interest in This place, than as they Lead to Seditions in the State: the shortest Cutt I know, will be to Reduce all of that Tendency to Sir Francis Bacon's Notable Comprizal of them, under Two Properties: [*If a New Sect have not Two Properties, fear it not; for (says He) it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the Opposing of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular than That. The Other is, the giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Heresies (such as were in Ancient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Help of Civil Occasions.*] Now when a Prince meets with a Faction thus Markt, let him look to Himself: for there are against him, the best Counterfeit of a Friend, and the most Deadly Composition of an Enemy; the Strongest of all Allurements; the most Popular of all Designs; and the most Rational Means to Accomplish it.

But the Question will be, How to Prevent, what is not as yet Discover'd? To which we answer, That the Sect here spoken of, is New, either Absolutely, or Comparatively. If Absolutely; Observe what Carnal Interest they drive: If Comparatively, mark what Copy they follow; and Measure the Disciple by his Master.

A sure way to prevent Schism.

One Safe and Certain Remedy, (be the Novelty what it will,) is, not to suffer any Innovation whatsoever, without a warrantable Authority: No, not so much as a Publick Dispute against an Establish'd Order, from a Private Person. Nay, more; let the Dissent be Right or Wrong, 'tis the same thing as to the Reason of Government, though not so to the Conscience of the Dissenter. Suppose the Subject of an Idolatrous Prince,

Prince, within his Masters Dominions, and Contrary to his Express Order, Preaches against the Religion there Establish'd: He does well, to Discharge his Conscience, but let him have a Care of the Consequence; for if in Order to the making of Good Christians, he makes Bad Subjects, his Zeal will hardly acquit him of Sedition: God does not allow of Proposing Good Ends, by Ill Means; and of Reforming Religion, by Rebellion.

Let him have a Care likewise, if he comes to suffer for well-doing, how he behaves himself: for if he but open his Mouth against the Civil Magistrate, as a Persecutor, he betrays himself to be an Hypocrite.

There are Two Sells, whom I dare say, This Doctrine will not please; i. e. The Pontifical Presbyterians, and the Rigid Jesuits. The Latter of which, have, for Convenience sake, been True to One King: The Former, (giving the Devil his Due) since Presbyterians had a Being, were never True to Any: or if they ever were, let him that Loves Them best, or knows them better, shew me but when, where, how; and with a Neverint universi, I do here Declare, Ple make a Publick Re-orientation. Till Then, We'll take the Prebyterian for the Cock-Schismatick; and (if Sir Francis Bacon's Note holds Good.) the Dangerous New Sell: against Whom, no Caution can be too Early, no Importunity too Earnest, no Restriction too Severe.

These are They, that (according to the Lord St. Albans) Propagate Religion by Wars; Force Consciences; Non-rish Seditions; Authorise Conspiracies and Rebellions. That put the Sword into the Peoples hand, and Dash the First Table, against the Second. In short; all Those Popular, and Supplanting Politicks, which we find only here and there, Scatter'd, and Thin, in Other Sells; are by These People drawn into a Practical Method; a Set-form of Sedition.

They Govern Their Looks, their Words, their Actions; The Presbyterians Set-form. Nay, their very Dress, Garb, and Accent, by a Rule: They are Instructed, when to Beseech, and when to Expostulate; when to Flatter, and when to Threaten; when to Offer, and when to Deny; when to Press Swearing, and when to Declaim against it; when to Save, and when to Kill.

In the first Scene, ye have the Schismatick upon his Knees, And Method. begging his Prince into a Dispensation, for. Scrupulous Consciences,

Their Modesty.

ences, that perhaps stick at such and such *Ceremonies*; the *Cross*, the *Surplice*, or the like.

Let but the *Sovereign* Comply *Thus far*, and *what's the Fruit of this Indulgence?* Within a Day or Two, they come for *More*, and by *Degrees*, *More still*; till at *Last*, they find the *Government of the Church* as *Troublesom*, as they did the *Rites of it*; and *Bishops* as great a *Grievance*, as *Ceremonies*. Where the *King Stops*, They *Cavil*; and now, from *Patitioners for Freedom to Themselves*, they are *Grown to be most Insolent Denyers of it to Others*.

Their Art is next, to *Tune the People*; which is best done by the *Pulpit*, where *One half* of their *Business* is *Invective* against *Prelacy*, and the *Other* is spent in *Well-Acted Supplications*, That *God would turn the King's Heart*; Accounting *His yielding* to all They *Ask*, as a *Divine Assurance* that their *Prayers are heard*. But if the *Monarch* still holds out; what *Pity 'tis* (they *Cry*) so *sweet a Prince* should be *Miss-led*? And then they fall upon his *Evil Counsellors*; still *Taking* all he *Gives*, and *Struggling for the Rest*; till having first *Disrob'd* Him of his *Rights*, *Depriv'd* Him of his *Friends*; Step after Step, they *Assume His Sacred Person*, and at last take away *His Life*.

Here's their *Glorious King!* the End of all their *Vows* and *Covenants*, their *Prayers* and *Fastings*; or, in a word, the *Summe of their Religion*.

It was great *Blasphemy* (says Sir F. B.) when the *Devil* said I will *Ascend* and be like the *Highest*; But it is greater *Blasphemy*, to *Personate God*, and bring Him in, saying, I will *Descend*, and be like the *Prince of Darkness*; and what is it better to make the *Cause of Religion*, to *descend*, to the *Cruel and Execrable Actions*, of *Murdering Princes*, *Butchery of People*, and *Subversion of States and Governments*?

He that stands firm against (not the *Wit*, or *Bravery*, but) the *Flaming*, and *Treacherous Insinuations* of This *Faction*, may make himself *Sport* with all *Other Practices* and *Combinations* whatever: and That *Prescription*, which helps *This Evil*, serves for all other *Publick* and *Intestine Maledictions*.

I think we may be *Positive*, that there neither *Is*, nor ever *Was* in *Nature*, any *Society of Men*, without a *Visious Alliance*, under what *Government*, or *Government-foever*. I think

think we may be *assured* likewise that Those *Submissions* and *Obsequious Particulars*, which which all Constitutions are infected, are only *Descent* from *revolving* all Governments, by the want of *Opportunities* to Plot, and *Contrive*; and by the *Hazards* they meet with, in putting Those *Plots* in Execution.

Wherefore it ought to be a Prince his first Care, to *Choke* These *Seeds of Discord*: which may be Effected, by a *Provision* of *Orthodox Ministers*; (to the utter Exclusion of the *Contrary*) by *Prohibiting* *Private Meetings*, or *Conventicles*; and by *taking heed* to the *Press*. A *Watchfulness* in These *Three Points* Secures the *Church* from *Schisms*; and Consequently the *State* from *Conscientious Seditions*. (At least, if I am not *Mistaken* in my *Presumption*, that there is not any fourth way of *Dangerous Communication*.)

The means of Preventing Schism.

Touching the *Licentious abuse* of the *Press*, and the *Freedom* of *Riotous Assemblies*; the *Distemper* is not as yet grown *Bold enough*, to *avow* Those *Liberties*: But from the *Non-Conforming Ministers*, we must expect *hard Pleading*.

What? [shall the *Faithfull Guides* be ejected, upon the account of *Forms*, or *Ceremonies*? because they dare not do that which they Judge to be so great a *Sin* against the *Lord*?] May not a *Dissenting Brother* be an *Honest man*?

Object.

Petition for Peace, pag. 4, 5.

Our *Reply* shall be *short*, and *Charitable*. If the *People* take them for *Guides*, they will be the apter to *follow* them; so that the *fairer* their *Credit* is, the *worse* is their *Argument*.

Ans. The Hazards of Toleration.

Nor are they *laid aside*, as if the *Difference* it self were so *Criminal*, but for the *evill Consequences* of *Retaining* Them.

First, it advances the *Reputation* of the *Dissenting Party* to have the *matter Look* as if either the *Power*, or *Reason* were on *Their side*.

Next, it Subjects the *Prince* to be *Thought Dissident*; either of his *Authoring* to *Command*, or of the *Justice* of the *Thing Commanded*.

Thirdly, a *Dissenting Minister* makes a *Dissenting Congregation*.

Fourthly, it makes *Conscience* a *Cloak* for *Sedition*, and under *Colour* of *Dividing* from the *Church*, it Ministers *Occasion* for *People* to *write* against the *State*.

Fifthly, it not only leads to *Noted Opinions*, whereof the

Vulgar



*Vulgar* are both Greedy, and Curious; but it Possesses the Multitude with These Two Desperate, and Infociable Persuasions: First, That the People are Judges of the *Good*; and Next, That because God alone has Power over their Souls, the Sovereign has none over their Bodies.

As to the Honesty of a *Dissenting Brother*; his Honesty is only to himself, but his Dissent is to the *Publick*; and the Better the *Man* is, the Worse is the *President*.

Upon these hazards, depends the Royalty of That Sovereign, that dispenses with the Law, to Indulge This Faction; and, which is the great Pity of all, the better he deserves, the worse they use him. So that the only way for a Prince to deal Safely with These People, is first to lay aside That Dangerous, and Fatal Goodness; and Sreer his Resolutions by the Compass of a Severe, and Inexorable Reason. Not that Kings are Gods, in any Respect, more then in their Power, and Mercy; but there are certain Cases, and Instances, wherein That Power, and Mercy may be Restrained; and wherein 'tis possible that what is Excellent in Nature, may be a slip in Government. 'Tis One Thing for a Party to ask Pardon for a Fault already Committed, and another thing to beg a Dispensation beforehand, to Commit it. And there's this Difference also in the Issue of the Grants. The Prince has the Faction at his Mercy, the One way; and the Faction has got the Prince at Theirs, the Other. But to the Point.

Will the Monarch's yielding to this, or that, content them? They'll say 'tis all they aime at; and truly I'd believe them: would they but shew me out of their whole Tribe, any one Instance of This Moderation to save the Credit of my Charity; Any *Presbyterian Interest* in Nature that is not Rais'd upon the Ruins of a Prince, and Cemented with Broken Vows and Promises.

If it be thus; Nothing less then a Miracle can secure that Monarch that makes this Faction Master of the Pulpit; and this, King Charles, the Martyr, prov'd by sad Experience: For not a Soul that by the Instigation of Schismatical Lectures deserted the Church, but became an Enemy to the State. So that Effectually a Gracious Toleration in some Cases, is by some People understood no otherwise, then as a Tacit Commission from the Person of the King to Levy a War against his Office. And it is very rarely that such an Indulgence

The Founda-  
tion of Pres-  
bytery.

gence is better Employ'd. In which Opinion we are not a little Confirm'd by the Reflections of that Blessed Prince above mentioned.

[I wish (says he) I had not suffered My own Judgment to have been over-borne in some Things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments: My Confidence had less betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to Those Advantages, which some men sought for, who manag'd nothing but Power, and Occasion, to do mischief: And after the utmost Tryall of Bowry and Remissness to that Faction; These are his words to his Royall Successour, [I cannot yet Learn That Lesson, nor I hope never will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the Perturbation of the Law, in which is wrapt up the Publick Interest, and the Good of the Community.]

Eliz. Bapla.  
pag. 3.

Howe's Hist.  
vol. 1. p. 10

Eliz. Bapla.  
p. 239.

Finally; Those Perfidious Creatures which at first Petition'd their Sovereign, afterwards fought against him, and Imprison'd him: Refusing him in his Distress the Comfort of his own Chaplains, in Requital for having Granted them the Liberty of their Consciences. Who strook the Fatall Blow, it matters not: If he had not been Disarm'd, he had not been Kill'd. Subjects do not Hunt Kings for Sport; only to Catch Them, and let them go again. To Conclude; He was Persecuted with Propositions worse then Death; as by his Choice appear'd; for he Preferr'd rather to Die, then Sign Them. But to Signalize the Honor of his Memory, and the Glory of his Martyrdome, take his Last Resolution, and Profession.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my Enforced contestation for, and vindication of, the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the Just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due Encouragements, then if I had with the greatest Advantages of Success, over-born them all, as some men have now evidently done, whatever Designs they at first propos'd. From a Supposition of the Irreducibility to Schism, proposing

Eliz. Bapla.  
p. 263.

posing also how to strangle it in the Birth, we are now to Consider, in some Degree, of Growth and Progression; and to enquire after the best means to prevent such Mischiefes, as may arise from the further Increase, and spreading of it. That is; the Mischiefes of Conspiracy, which may be Promoted, either by Speech, or Writing.

The Growth  
of Schism.

The first great Hazard is when Popular Persons, are put in Popular Employments, and in Populous Places. A Channing, and a Fashionable Minister, is a Dangerous Instrument in a City; and the more Dangerous, if Tolerated; for Then he stirs up Tumults by Authority: and who shall blame the Flock for following the Shepherd?

The Liberties of Conventicles, and Pamphlets, are likewise of Desperate Influence upon the People; but These (as is already said) are easily Suppress'd by the Seasonable Execution of Laws. But There's no Dallying with the Combination.

If through the fault of Negligent Officers, the Distemper be gone too far, and the Confederacy grown Strong and Bold enough to struggle with the Law. Then, Other Arts must be found out, either to Amuse, Ensnare, or Disunite the Faction. The Last Resort is violence, which must be Timely too before the Reverence of Authority is quite Lost. And let the King himself appear; not only to Ask, but Take the Heads of the Sedition; before the Quarrel is Transferr'd from his Ministers, to his Person: if he but Stoops, he Falls. How horrible a Mutiny was That which Cæsar Quieted at Blacenia? Single, Unarm'd and with One wretched word, (QUIRITES.)

—Nec dum deseviat Ira,  
Expellat; Medios procerat tentare Furores.

Nor Waite: he till the Hot Fit should assuage,  
But at the Maddest, Scorns, and Braves their Rage.

A Noble Re-  
solve.

As the Resolve was Great, and the Success Good, so doubtless was the Reason of This Action; For by the Soudainess, he Prevented their Agreement, and by the Generous Contempt of Danger, he was almost Certain to Divide the Revolt; making the Nobler Part of the Mutiniers to Adore him, and the Baser, to Fear him.

If the bare Presence of a General, could have This Power upon a Disciplin'd, Incens'd, and Daring Army; what should a powerful Monarch apprehend, from an Unprincipled, and Loose Multitude?

But

But the Dispute is not yet Brought to This Extremity ; Our Purpose in this Place , being rather to Frustrate and Disappoint the *Malice* in the Contrivance , than *Crush* it in the Execution . To which end are Requisite, great *Diligence*, *Secrecy*, *Watchfulness*, *Moderation* ; and ( at-whate-rate soever ) a *Strict* and *General Intelligence* : All which together, make up a *Necessary* and *Befitting Prudence*.

Sir *Francis Bacon's* Counsel is, to Begin with *Reforming* *Abuses* ; a Work seldom out of *Season*, but never more needful : then upon the very first *Murmurings* and *Motions* toward *Troubles*. Most especially, let *Great Towns* be Supplied with *Good Ministers*, and the Earlier, the Better, least the *Multitude* think it *Extorted* ; and the *Guilty* become too Strong for the *Innocent*.

It ought to be *Impartial* too ; for a *Toleration* on the One hand, will make *Justice* it self look like a *Persecution* on the Other. Beside, That it takes away the *Subject* of the *Clamour*, and exalts the *Reputation* of the *Monarch*, in making Him appear the *Common Father* of his People.

By these Means, may the *Church* be Purg'd of *Schism*, without much hazard of *Sedition*.

If the *Plot* be already *Modell'd*, and the *Multitude* Leaven'd, The *Sovereign* is to look for *Petitions*, on the Behalf of *Ejected Ministers* ; in the Names of *Thousands* ; and Accompanied with the Rudeness rather of a *Riot*, than a *Request*. The *Petitioners* may be Put Off, *Threatned*, or *Punished*, &c. according to the Merit of their Behaviour : but let a Watch be set upon the *Leaders* of Those *Troops* : their *Habits* and *Correspondents*. Let it be mark'd who *Intercedes*, who *Mitigates* on Their behalf.

Let the *Motions* of the *Disaffected Clergy* be likewise Observed, which of the *Nobility* they Frequent : And in fine, *Spyes* Employ'd upon all their Considerable *Privacies* : For, let the Cry be what it will, the Cause of these Disorders is *Ambition*. Of which in another Place, and with One Word more we'll Conclude this Point.

That may be *Conscience* in the People, which is *Sedition* in the Minister ; wherefore in all *Schismatical Raptures*, I could wish all possible Favour to the *Common sort* of the *Lairy*, and as much Severity to the *Offending Clergy*.

Ambition is the Cause, no matter what's the Cry.

## Sect. II.

How to prevent **SEDITIONS** arising from the Disorders of the **BENCH**.

Corrupt Divines and Lawyers are in the forlorn of all Rebel-lions.

**WE** have Begun with the *Church*; and the *Bench* properly Follows: which is but to give Them the same Place in the Order of this Discourse, which they have in the Argument of it. Was there ever any *Considerable Rebellion* (I do not say *Revolt*) That was not Usher'd in by *Corrupt Divines*, or *Lawyers*, or Both of Them? And 'tis no Wonder; since upon *These Two Interests depends the great Concern*, both of our *Souls and Bodies*. One Reason of their Forwardness may be This; that they may do more *Harm*, upon *Safe and Easie Terms*, than other People: Bolt a *Rebellion* out of a *Text*; Dethrone a *King* with a *Moot-Point*, and Execute a *Bishop* at a *Reading*. All which is done with a *Wet Finger*; for when a People are *Discontented*, 'tis but Picking a *Scripture*, or a *Statute*, for the *Time and Purpose*; and Commit the Rest to *Application*.

These Two Interests hold for Good Intelligence, it is almost Pity to part Them: and Compar'd with the Rest, (supposing all in Disorder) They mind me of a *Combination* I have observ'd betwixt a *Beagle*, and a *Grey-hound*: the One Starts the *Hare*, and *Telps*, the Other *Catches* it, but by *Consent*, they part the *Quarry*.

But the Contrary, are the Pillars and Blessings of Society.

As I Reckon These Men of the *Robe* to be the very *Pests of Humane Nature*, when they Degenerate from the *Prime End* of their *Institution*: So take them (on the Other side) in the *Dut* Exercise of their *Callings*, they are the *Blessings* and the *Pillars* of *Society*. A Word now to the *Lawyer* apart.

The Common Crime of Vicious Lawyers is, Avarice.

The Common Crime of *Vicious Lawyers*, is *Avarice*; and Those *Inducements* to *Sedition*, which (in the Chapter next fore-going This) we have divided into *Corruption*, *Partiality*, *Oppression*, *Chargeable Delays*, &c. are but as several Branches from that Root of *Covetousness*.

Nay, take Their more *Pernicious* and *Vile Practices*; Their *Misconstruction* of *Laws*; *Misapplying* of *Presidents*; *Torturing* or *Embezzling* of *Records*, &c. What is All This; but



but *Corruption* in another *Dress*: A Project to Embroil the Government, that They may get *Money* by *Selling* it again? Or if they can procure a *Change*; They make the best Market they can of their *Country*; and *Betray* it to that *Fallacious* The Basest of Corruptions. that will Give Most for't. Nay, when That's done, (and that Matters will come Right again, in spite of them) They shall *Betray* it back again to the Right Owner: at once Lamenting, and Adoring their *Past*, and *Profitable Transgressions*. These are the miserable Fruits of *Corruption*.

*Others* there are that *Err* through want of *Judgment*. And that's a sad Case too; for *Mistakes* coming from the Lips of a *Judge*, pass for *Oracles*. An Ignorant Judge is a Dangerous Minister.

*Others* there are again, that *Understand* the *Right*, but in some Cases dare not *Own* it. And *These* deliver up the *People* And so is a Timorous. to *Day*, for Fear of the *King*; and the *Prerogative* to *Mor-*  
row, for Fear of the *Subject*.

From hence it seems to me, That a *Prince* his *Chiefest* *Care* in this Particular of the *Law*, lies in a *Narrow* compass: That is, in *Securing*; and *Preserving* his *Courts* of *Judicature* from *Corruption*; and in *Supplying* them with Men of *Eminent* Abilities and *Courage*: *These* are the Instruments to make a *Prince* and *People* *Happy*; Nor does any Thing more Conduce to it, than the *Carrying* of an *Even* and *Impartial Hand* upon the *Ballance* of *Government*, and *Obedience*. We come now to the *Choice* of *Persons*, and There the *Difficulty* lies.

*Some* Deceive the *World*, by *Appearing* *Honest*er than they are. *Others* Deceive *Themselves*, and are *Honest* only for want of *Temptation*. Some there are, that are *Proof* against *Money*, but not against *Danger*. In short; *Where* A hard matter to make a good Choice. *is* so much *Imports* a *Prince* nor to *Repent* too late, it may be worth his while to *Consider* of his *Choice* in *Time*.

Concerning the *Abilities* of *Persons* for the *Offices* to which he *Designs* them; *Common Fame*, with a *Little* *Particular Enquiry* will be sufficient: but their *Integrity* requires a *stricter Scrutiny*. What's such a *Man's Humour*? His *Behaviour*? His *Temper*? are not unnecessary Questions. And upon the *Whole*? *If* he has ever *Betrayed* any *Friend*, *Trust*, or *Interest*, either for *Fear* or *Profit*; Away with him. But if upon *Tryals* either *Private* or *Publick*, it appears, that rather than do *small Injuries*, he has *Refus'd* *great Benefits*: that he A Rule to Choose by.  
has

## A M E M E N T O.

has Prefer'd his Fairb and Honour, before his Life and Fortune: This Evidence may serve for a Moral Assurance of an Honest Man. Whereas without this Personal and Particular Examination, not only the Future Safety, but the present Quiet of a Kingdom may come to be endanger'd by a Mischoise of Ministers.

To Reason upon this Hazard, does not at all Impeach the Sovereign's Absolute Freedom to Elect whom He pleases; nor does it one jot justify the Subject, that shall presume to Scan and Judge the Actions of his Prince. But in Regard that Discontentments breed Seditions; and that Mistakings of This Quality may beget Discontentments, we Offer This Expedient as to That Consequence. And in Truth it seems to be a kind of Prophanation of the Seat of Justice, when He Sits upon the Bench, that deserves to hold up his Hand at the Bar. To Conclude then; When a Monarch comes to Discover the Inconvenience of such Ministers, He may kill two Birds with one Stone; and Consider who Recommended them: (But they may be better Kept out, than Driven on.)

Next to the Choice of Good Persons, Succeeds the Care of Good Order, when they are Chosen: Which may be Provided for; First, By maintaining an Intelligence concerning the General Bias and Complexion of their Proceedings as to the Publick; (i. e. Whether or no they do equal Justice betwixt King and People.) Secondly, By Over-watching them in Cases of more Private and Particular Concern.

Let not This Strictness appear either too much for a Prince his Business, or below his Dignity. Kingdoms are Lost for want of These Early Providences; these Little Circumspections; but it costs more to Recover them. Nor (in effect) is the Trouble at all Considerable; for 'tis here, as 'twas with the Tyrant, that durst not Sleep for fear of having his Throat cut. A Mathematician comes to him, and tells him; That for so many Talents he'd secure him, and shew him such a Secret, that it should be impossible for any man so much as to design upon him without Discovery. The Tyrant was content; provided that he might be satisfied of the Secret, before he parted with his Money, and so takes the Cunning-man into his Cabinet. What was the Secret? But that he should give the fellow so much Money, & pretend that he had Taught it him. This Sory comes up to Us: The bare O-

pinion

*Ha nuga Seria  
ducunt in mala.*

pinion of a Prince his *Vigilance*, saves him the *Need* and *Trouble* of it: And *Three or Four Discoveries* in his whole *Raign*, shall gain him That *Opinion*.

Touching Those *Abuses* which *Immediately* relate to the *Publick*; (as concerning the *misconstruction* of *Lawyers*, &c.) they are usually couch'd under the *Salvo* of an *Ambiguity*. To prevent which *Inconvenience*, all Those *Distinctions* which in *Seditious* times have been made use of for the *Authorising*, or *Countenancing* of *Treason*, might be *sum'd up* and *Declar'd* *Treasonous* *Themselves*. Such I mean, as the *Co-ordinate Power* of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, The *Litteral* and *Equitable Construction* of *Laws*. The *Person*, and *Authority* of *Princes*. *Singulis Major*, *Universis Minor*, &c. For sure it is not *Reasonable*, that the *Clear*, and *Sacred Rights* of *Kings*, should depend upon the *dubious*, and *Prophane Comments* of the *People*.

A way to prevent Treasonous Mistakes.

Concerning *Grievances* of a more *Particular Quality*; the *Principal* of them are *Injustice*, and *Delay*: the *Former* whereof, is purely the *Fault* of the *Judge*; the *Other* may, in *some measure*, and in *some Constitutions*, be imputed to a *Defect* in the *Law*. In This *Case*, the best way to prevent further *Mischief*, and *satisfie* for what is done *already*, is an *Impartial Severity* upon all *Offenders* as they are *Detected*: Especially, where *Complaints* are *General*, and the *Injustice* *Notorious*; for nothing less than a *Publick Example*, can amount to a *Publick Satisfaction*.

Sect. III.

How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditious arising from the Disorders of the COURT.

WE have in the Last Chapter, *Pag. 99.* (concerning *Seditious* which may possibly arise from a *Disorder'd Court*) stated what we intend by the *Court-Interest*. We have likewise *Divided* the *Evill-Instruments*, into such as either *Plot* *Mischief*, or *Occasion* it. We have again *Subdivided* the *Plotters* into *Three Parties*. The *One* whereof opposes the *Will* of the *Gouvernoir*; The *Other*, (as *Directly*) the *Form* of the *Government*: And there is a *Third Party*, that bring their

The Contrivers of Seditious are of Three Sorts.

their Ends about, by *Supplications, Vows, Fasting and Prayer*; by *Forms of Piety, and Reverence*: and finally; that with a *Hail Master* and a *Kiss*, Betray their *Sovereign*.

Concerning the *Two Former*; More needs not be said, than that *Force* is to be *Repell'd* by *Force*: and That, the *Monarch* is suppos'd to have always in Readiness, for the Safety of the *Government*. The Other, is a *Serpentine, and Winding Party*; that *Steals, and Glides* into the very *Bosome* of a *Prince*, and Then it *Clippes and Strangles* him. This is a *Faction* that Answers to our *Jesuited Puritan*.

Yet while I separate These Three, for *Perspicuity of Method*; let me not be understood, as if they would not mingle in *Complication of Interest*: For nothing is more *Notorious*, then that in all *Commotions* upon pretext of *Conscience*, the *Religious Division* is still the *Receptacle* of all other *Disaffected Humours* whatsoever. He that's an *Atheist* to *Day*, becomes an *Enthusiast* to *Morrow*; where a *Crown* is the *Prize*. Only I must confess, the *Presbyterian* plays the *Fast and Loose* of the *Device*, the best in the whole *World*. Let as many help him as will, 'tis *Liberty of Conscience* forsooth; but have a *Care* of the *Purity of the Gospell*, when they come to *share* with him. They may, if they please, (nay they shall be *Invited* to't) run the *hazards* of the *Course* with him; *Venture Neck, and Body*; over *Hedge and Ditch*; through *Thick and Thin*, but yet at last, the *Devill a bit of the Quarry*.

In fine; the *Plausible Contrivers* of *Sedition* (under what *Mask-soever*) are the *People* we aim at; and These are either In the *Counsell*, or Out of it. Sir *Francis Bacon* Divides the *Dangers* from Within the *Great Counsell*, into an *Over-greatness in One Counsellour*, or an *Over-strict Combination in Divers*. The Rest, we only look upon as *Their Dependencies*.

Pag. 71. We proceed from the *Direct Contrivance* of *Sedition*, to the more *Remote Occasions* of them. As *Corruption, Monopolizing; Non-payment of Debts, &c.*—

This being the *Order*, into which we have dispos'd the *Causes of Seditions*; it will be suitable, that some *Degree* of *Method* be observ'd in the *Remedies*. But first, a word of *Introduction*.

We are to take for granted, that *Sedition* is a kind of *Clock-work*, and that the *Main Spring* of all *Rebellions* is *Ambition*.

bition. We may be again as *Confident*, that never any *One Monarchy* was destroy'd, but with design to set up *Another*. (The Talk of This or That *Form of Government*; or of This or That *Shape of Religion*, being no more then a Ball toss'd among the *People*, for the *Knaves* to keep the *Fools* in play with) It's Truth, that a *Sinking Monarchy* lapses into an *Aristocracy*; and That again into a *Popular State*. But what's the Reason of all This?

Does any man Imagine that the *Conspirators* work for One another, or for Themselves? They Joyn in the Necessity of a *Common Assistance*; but they Divide in the Proposition of a *several Interest*. Who is he in the *Senate*, that had not rather *Rule Alone*, then in *Company*, if he could help it? To be short; where more then *One Govern*, 'tis because what *Every man* *Wishes*; *no Particular can effect*. (That is to *Master the Rest*. (Understand me only of *Medlers* to overthrow a *Government*.)

The next *Slide* from an *Aristocracy*, downward; comes a little clearer yet. Some of the *Craftiest* of Those that help'd the *Peers* to Cast off the *King*, are now as *Buffe* with the *People* to throw off the *Nobility*; and Then, they are *within one Easy step*, of *Confusion*; from whence, the next *Change* brings him that can carry it from the *Rest*, to the *Sovereignty*. As arrant a *Mockery*, is *Religion*, in the Mouth of a *Conspirator*.

Indeed it makes me smile sometime, to hear how Soberly Men will talk of the *Religion* of This or That *Faction*: as if a *Traytour*, or an *Hypocrite* were of *Any*. And then they cry, — This is against the *Principles* of the *Presbyterians*; and That against the *Principles* of the *Independents*: when (*Truly*, and *Shortly*) they are but *Thus Distinguished*; Those would subvert the *Government*, *One Way*; *These*, *Another*; And he that would rightly Understand them, must Read, for *Presbytery*, *ARISTOCRACY*; and *DEMOCRACY*, for *Independency*. I speak of the next *Consequence*, if they *Prevail*; not of the *Ultimate Design* of the *Chief Leaders*; for That's *Monarchy*) Wee'l drop ye a Little *Story* here.

'An Officer of the *Reformat on* advises with an Ingenious Surgeon of my Acquaintance, about a *Grief*, (as he pretended) caught with a *Streyn*. After divers Questions; how and how? The Surgeon tells his Patient, that (by his leave)



' the Trouble he complains of, can be no other, then (to Phrase it Modestly) a *Ladies Favour*. The good man blesses himself; and still it must be a *Strain*. Why then is Stain let it be: but This I'll tell you Sir; *The Thing that Cures That Strain, will Cure the Pox*. In fine; the Officer submits, and the Surgeon does his work,

The Presbyter-  
ian has gotten  
a Strain.

This is the Case of the two *Factions*, They Cry out, of their *Consciences*; but their Disease lyes somewhere else: and *Schism is cur'd, just as they cure Sedition*.

A Ceremony  
may be as well  
impos'd as a  
Tax.

Nay; does it not behove a Prince, with the same strictness to require Submission to a Ceremony, as to a Tax? Or why may not a Justice as well refuse to Sweat Obedience, to the Civil Government, as a Minister to the Ecclesiastick? What can be more reasonable, than for a Master either to Punish, or dismiss an undutifull Servant? Briefly, That Monarch that would be safe, must resolve to be Deaf to These Religious Clamours. Alas! let but the Ministers Begin; the People Bawle in Course: not that they are Troubled; but they'l do't in Rudeness, or Imitation. They are as arrantly Taught to do't, as a Friend of mine Taught his Beagles. Let him Gape first, and the whole Kennell falls to howling: Let him give off, they are quiet too: and just Thus stands the Case betwixt the Schismatical Clergy, and the Multitude.

But (it will be said) what's all this to the Court? Or to Seditions, thence proceeding?

Oh very much. These *Out-cries* of the *Vulgar*, are but False Alarms: The *Dint* is nearer hand. They have their *Demagogues*, and their *Patrons*; (as the late Glorious King, and Martyr calls them) and if a Prince look well about him, in such a juncture as is here mention'd; 'tis odds, he finds some of their Principals, even at his Ear, or Elbow. So that his first Concern is to Inspect, and Purge (where he sees Cause) his Royall Palace, Beginning with his Counsell. Where (as Sir Francis Bacon) the Danger is either, the Over-greatness of One; or the Combination of Divers: Which Dangers we shall Obviate with their Remedies, in Order.

## Subsection. I.

*The Remedies of certain Hazards arising from the Overgreatness of One COUNSELLOR.*

ONE Over-great Counsellor may be Dangerous; First, in respect of His Particular Temper and Inclination: Secondly, In regard of His Credit with his Master: And lastly, In Consideration of the Influence of that Power, and Inclination upon the People.

The Over-great Counsellor we here Treat of, is as the *Malin Geniu* of a Nation: And in Two Words, behold the Ground and Summe of the Whole Mischief. 'Tis either Vice or Weakness, apply'd to the Dishonour or Damage of a Prince and People.

Now to the Application of That Vice, or Weakness. And first, What ill use may be made of the One, and what ill effects may proceed from the Other, by vertue of his Credit with his Master.

If He be Ambitious, He's plac'd upon the very Point for Popularity. Whom can he not Oblige, by Hopes; Rewards, Preferments? Whose Tongue cannot he Charm, either to Speech or Silence? Whose Reputation, Suit, Fortune; nay in some Cases, whose very Life it self, and Liberty, are not dependent upon his Favour? If this Aspiring Humour be accompanied with a Sharpness of Judging; a Felicity of Contriving; and an Impulse of Enterprizing: The Master of such a Servant should do well to Look about him.

Ambition dangerous in a Favourite.

It may be Reply'd, That doubtless so he would, if he saw any Reason to apprehend his Abuse of that Power; But the Knowledge of the Person, does sufficiently warrant the Reason of the Dispensation. To which, we answer; That though Sovereign Princes are not Accountable to Others, yet They are to Themselves; both for the Expediencè and Equity of their Actions: And entering into their own Souls, it is very possible, that they may discover some Incongruities betwixt their Affections, and their Convenience. Some Incongruities I say; and such, as may Induce the wisest Prince, and the most Indulgent Master; even toward the most Loyal and Meriting Servant;

A Caution.

*Servant*, to limit the *Graces* of his *Inclination*, to the *Rules* and *Respects* of his *Office*; and to be wary, lest while He *Divide his Heart* with his *Friend*, he share also his *Authority* with his *Subject*: Therein, both *Endangering Himself*, and *Grieving his People*.

To Conclude; It is great *Prudence* in *Publike Affairs*, to commit little to *Hazard*; and it is no small *Hazard*, to *Expose* a *Favourite* to strong *Temptations*.

Where there are *Servants* that will employ their *Masters Bounty* against *Himself*; (and of such only we speak) If the *Design* be to *supplant the Sovereign*, many *Remedies* may be found out, to *frustrate That Ambition*. Nay (as I have already hinted) whether there be such a *Design*, or not; 'tis good to provide against the very *Possibility* of it. For, it is fitter, that the *Publike* should be *Indebted* for its well-being, to the *Care* of the *Prince*, than to the *Honesty* of the *Favourite*.

Ambition does better in a Souldier, than in a Counsellor.

*Ambitious Natures* do better in the *Field*, than in the *Court*; and better yet *Abroad*, than at *Home*. If they *Advance*, they grow *Dangerous* for their *Power*; if they receive a *Check*, they become so for their *Malice*: Whence it comes to pass, that we see few *Seditious* without a *Malecontent* of *This Quality*, in the *Head* of them. These are a sort of *People*, of whom a *Prince* cannot be too wary. But we are here to provide against the *Ambition* of a *Person Rais'd by Favour*, not *Aspiring*; and from such a *One*, the *Peril* is greater, by reason of the means he has, both to compass his *Ends*, and to *Disguise* them.

*Sir Francis Bacon* proposes the *Mating* of *One Ambitious Person* with *Another*; and in *Extremities*, the *Puzzling* of him, with an *Enterchange* of *Favours*, and *Disgraces*, that he may not know what to *Expect*. Courses, no doubt, *advisable*, to put an *Insolent Favourite* to a stand; if it may be as *Safe* to *Disoblige* him, without *Disarming* him: but that depends much upon the *Complexion* of the *Person*, according as he is *Bold* or *Fearful*.

It is the Interest of a Prince to dispose of Offices by particular Direction.

There is not any thing which more *Fortifies* and *Establishes* a *Monarch*, than the *Disposal* of all *Offices*, and *Charges* of *Trust*, by his *particular Choice* and *Direction*, without the *Interpose* of any *Publike Recommendation*: Nor can he *Transfer That Care* to his *Great Counsellor*, without a great share of his

his Power. And here's the Difference; the One way they are the Honourable Dependencies of the Prince; and the Other way, they are the suspected Creatures of the Favourite; who by This Indulgence, makes One Parry at Present, and Another in Expectation.

A Wariness in This Particular, breaks the Neck of his Design.

It is good also for a Prince Fairly, and Publicly to Refuse him some Requests, and where the Suir is too bold, to Check Him for Others: That the World may see, that there are Some things which he cannot obtain; and Others, which he must not Dare to Ask. Whereas, if He carries all without Reserve, the Majesty of the Sovereign is lost in the Power of the Favourite. The Advice of King Charles, the Martyr, to His Sacred Majesty now in Being, shall put an End to This Point.

Never repose so much upon any man's single Counsel, Fidelity, and Discretion, in managing Affairs of the First Magnitude (that is, Matters of Religion, and Justice) as to Create in your self or others, a Diffidence of your own Judgment, which is likely to be always more Constant, and Impartial to the Interests of the Crown and Kingdom, than any man's.

Fix Bazar.  
Pag. 249.

This may suffice to Prevent a dangerous Over-greatness: But if it be found Necessary to Crush it; (as in case of a bold, and manifest Transgression of Duty, and Violation of Law) Something like an English Parliament does it best; and much better to be promoted by the People, than by the Sovereign.

A Second Danger is, when a Prime Minister employs his Credit to uphold a Faction: and it is the more Dangerous, by the hardness to know what it is. As whether it be Ambition, Corruption, Popularity: Or in fine, some other Secret Interest. It may be, they have need of One-another.

The Danger of  
a Favourite  
that upholds  
Faction.

Nothing can be more perillous then This Correspondence, when a proper Instrument has the manage of it. Oh how he Detests the Faction! But yet Truly, in such and such Cases; and for such and such Persons; and upon This or That Nick

And manage  
of his Design.

of

of Time, if Matters were Order'd So and So. And Then, the Insolence of a Schism is Palliated with the Simplicity of a Serpente: And for such Cases as will bear no other Plea, is found out the Colour of an Indisputable Necessity. Not to prosecute the several Artifices, by which some Truths are Disguis'd, others Suppress'd: Those Suits Promoted; These Complaints Smother'd: And finally; by which, both Men and Things are quite misrepresented.

Sir F. Bacon.

Kings cannot possibly see all Things with their own Eyes, nor hear all Things with their own Ears; so that they must commit many great Trusts to their Ministers.] The Hazard then is Great, when the Confident of the Monarch is the Advocate for the Enemies of the State. But above all, if he be Surly and Imperious to the Try'd Servants of the Crown: That looks like a Design, to Introduce one Party to Betray the Prince, and to Discourage or disable Another from serving him.

We are here upon a Supposition, That a Master may be mistaken in a Servant; and that a Servant may abuse his Credit with his Master. In case This be; What Remedy?

Supposing the Favourite still in Credit, we must Imagine the Sovereign still in the Mistake; and therefore not expect a Remedy as to the Person, but rather fetch Relief from some General Rules of Government: which shall neither disoblige the Favourite, if he be Honest; nor expose the Prince, if He be Other: But this is better done at the Beginning of a Kings Reign, than in the Middle of it; better upon Judgment of State, than Urgency of Occasion.

The certain Help is a fit Choice of Officers and Servants. Especially in such Places as have Numerous Dependencies; for otherwise, Three or Four Persons Leaven the Court; half a Dozen more the Souldiery; and in Conclusion, a great Favourite, with a few select Instruments of his own making, may, at his Pleasure, seize the Government. This was the Rise of the Second Race of Kings in France.

Yet God forbid, that Princes should make Themselves, and their Privadoes, miserable, by Eternal, Causeless, and Unquenchable Jealousies: That Kings should be Debarr'd That Blessing and Relief, without which, Life's a Plague, and Royalty a Burthen. That is, the Use and Comfort of a Friend;

[to whom (as the Oraculous St. Albans) He may Impart his Griefs; Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever

How to disappoint an Ambitious Design.

Favourites necessary to the Prince.



# A M E M E N T O.

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ever lies upon his Heart, to oppress it; in a kind of Civill Shrift, or Confession:] and from whence, (with the same Author) he may reap, [Peace of affections, and support of Judgment.]

Nay, take the Subject's Interest in too; what can be more And desirable  
Desirable, then for a Prince to have a Watchfull, Wise, Faith- to the People  
full Counsellor; and the People, a Firm Prudent Patriote, in  
the same Noble Person? Accursed be the man that envies ei-  
ther. Yet Here's a Line still drawn betwixt Majesty and  
Kindness; which the One cannot pass, without Diminution,  
nor the Other transgress without Presumption. In fine; the  
Right of Placing, or Displacing Officers, lies on the Kings side  
of the Chalk, and falls under the Head of Reward or Punish-  
ment.

King James in the second Book of his BANARDS Δύρον, de-  
livers Excellent Advises to Prince Henry, concerning the  
Choice of Servants.

First, See that they be of a Good Fame, and without  
Blemish.

Concerning  
the Choice of  
Servants.

Next, See that they be Indued with such honest Qua-  
lities, as are meet for such Offices as ye ordain them to  
serve in; that your Judgment may be known in Employ-  
ing every man according to his Gifts.

Let them be  
Honest and  
Fit.

Thirdly, I Charge you, according to my Fatherly Au-  
thority, to preferre specially to your Service, so many as  
have truly served Me, and are able for it. — For if the  
Haters of your Parents cannot Love you, it follows of Ne-  
cessity, that their Lovers must Love you.

Of approved  
Loyalty to the  
Father.

Chuse your Servants for your own Uses, and not for the  
Use of Others: and hearken not to Recommendati-  
ons, more for serving in effect, their Friends that put  
them in, then their Masters that admit them.

Nor upon Re-  
commenda-  
tion.

Especially take good heed to the choice of your Ser-  
vants, that you preferre to the Offices of the Crown and  
Estate: for in other Offices, ye have only to take heed to  
your own Weal, but these concern likewise the Weal of  
your People; for the which, ye must be Answerable to  
God. Be careful to Prefer none, as ye will be answer-  
able to God; but for their worthiness.

Publick Na-  
tures for Pub-  
lick Places.

Q

Employ

Not One to all  
Purposes.

*Employ every man as ye think him Qualifi'd; but Use not one in all Things, lest he wax Proud, and be Envy'd by his Fellows.*

These were the Directions of a Prince, than whom no Man spake more upon Experience: and very hardly shall a Sovereign that takes This Course, even upon any Account, Mis-carry.

Let a Prince  
set his Confi-  
dent his  
Bounds afore-  
hand.

Another Profitable Course might be for a Prince to set his Favourite his Bounds, afore-hand. As for the Purpose; that in such and such Particulars, concerning Law, and Religion, or wherein his Peculiar Interest is concern'd; he never presume to move him above Once; and that in certain Other Cases, he presume not to move him at all. By these means, the Favourite is minded of his Duty, the Prince of his Dignity: and both secur'd; the One from the Hazard of Granting too much; the Other from the Temptation of Asking it. So far from being Impracticable, is This Proposition; that on the contrary, 'tis Obvious and Easie. As for Instance.

There are some things which a King cannot Grant as a Christian; Others, which he cannot Grant as a King: and some again, which he cannot Grant as a Wise man. So that Reserving to himself, a Freedom (even from Solicitation) in These Niceties of Conscience, Honour, and Convenience; the Favourite may make his Best of the Rest. The Relation betwixt a Governour, and his People, is like That of Man, and Wife: A man may take his Friend into his Arms, but not into his Bed. To make an end of This; That Favourite that presses his Master to any thing which evidently exposes him, to Contempt or Harred, does probably Design his Ruin.

In Points of  
Conscience,  
Honour, and  
Convenience,  
let not a Fa-  
vourite press  
the Sovereign.

To run through the whole Body of Humane Frailties, would be too Tedious; Let it suffice, that Those Vices (whether Devillish, or Brutish) which in a Private man, are Mischievous, or Shamefull, are much more so in a Person armed with Power to Execute the Malice, and qualified with an Eminence, to Recommend a lewd Example.

Where a Great Trust is committed to a Weak Person; It matters not much to the Publick, whether he be True, or False: for Futility, in him, has the Effect of Treachery in another: The One Blabs his Masters Secrets, and the Other Betrayes them.

The

The *Third Hazard* from the *Over-greatness of One Counsellor*, arises from the Influence of his *Power*, and *Inclination* upon the *People*: And *That*, either as to their *Love*, or *Hatred*. The *Popular Part* we have already done with: (that is, so far as it concerns the making of a *Party to Himself*; and the *Remedies of That Danger*.) That which remains, shall be divided into *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *Misadvice*.

The Danger of Over-greatness as to the People.

It is seldom seen, that a *Proud man in Power*, is not withall *Insolent*, *Vain*, and *Cruell*. The first to his *Superiours*, where they will suffer it. The next to his *Equalls*, till they are sick of it. and the *Third*, to his *Inferiours*, till he is *Hated* for it.

A Proud man in Power.

A *Favourite* of this *Temper*, makes it his *Glory* to be thought the *Dictator* to his *Master*: *Disputing*, *Excusing*, *Cavilling*, upon *Mandates* and *Directions*, (as *Sir Francis Bacon*) His *style*, is *Ego & Rex Mens*; and the *Consequence* of this boldness is to lessen the *Sovereign* in the *Eyes* of his *Subjects*.

It is harder for a *Prince* to *Discover* this *Audacious Humour*, then to *Crush* it; let but the *King* withdraw his *Favour* for one *Moment*, and of himself, he falls below the *Scorn* of those he lately *Trampled* on.

Easily crush'd.

If he be *Covetous*; The *Person* of the *Prince*, and the *Honour* of the *Nation* are expos'd to *Sale*: and the *People* squeezed to fill his *Coffers*, till they have not *Bread* left for their own *Bellies*.

A Covetous Great man.

We here suppose the *Worst*; add yet even these *Extremities*, are not quite *Deplorable*, and *Helpless*. *Sponges* will *Squeez*, as well as *Suck*; and 'tis but the *Monarch's* sending of the *Popular Assembly* in quest of the *Publick Treasure*, to fetch it up again.

Now whence proceeds this *Mischief*, but from *Misadvice*? not want of *Prudence*, but of *Enformation*: or which is worse, from *Tales* fram'd to the *Passion*, and *Advantage* of the *Teller*. He's made an *Enemy* to the *State*, that's not a *Friend* to this or that *Design*. *Dangers* are *Pretended*, where there are *none*; and *Security*, where there are: And (which is the *Curse* of these *Ill-Officers*) the *Wise*st, and the *Brave*st of *Princes*, are subjected to *Delusion*, and *Surprize*, in *Common* with their *Contraries*. Could *Solomon's Wisdom* tell him which of the *Two Harlots* was the *Mother* of the *Child*,

The Mischief of False Intelligence.

without a further means of *Decision*? Or Could *Cesar's* Courage oppose the Fate of the *Senate*? In Matters of Fact, *Princes*, as well as *Others*, are to be Instructed by *Report*; and if from a Person whom they have Reason to believe, they receive notice of a Matter whereupon they have not Time to *Deliberate*; their Proceedings are to be directed, by the fairest appearance of that *Relation*. In fine, if a *Servant* will betray his *Master*, there's no avoiding it, for he must trust somebody. [Remember well saies Sir Francis Bacon in a Letter of Advice to the late Duke of Buckingham] the great trust you have undertaken; you are as a Continual Centinell, alwaies to stand upon your Watch, to give him (the King) True Intelligence. If you Flatter him, you betray him; If you Conceal the Truth of those things from him which concern his Justice, or his Honour, (although not the safety of his Person) you are as dangerous a Traitor to his State, as he that rises in Arms against him.]

Good Advice  
to a Coun-  
sellor.

If such as only withdraw their *Allegiance* from their Prince, are so Criminal; how much are they to blame then, that, where his *Conscience*, *Life*, and *Dignity*, lie all at stake, abuse, and mispossess him! That cry; Not that way Sir, for the Lord's sake, go this way rather! and so betray him, from his Guards into an Ambush.

But Centaurs are scarce more Monstrous in Nature, then these men are in Manners; and I may seem perhaps very hard driven for want of work, to employ my time in searching out of Remedies, for Mischiefs so Improbable. Truly his Concept, that imputes the Omission of a Law against Parricides, to a Presumption that the Crime would never be committed, does not at all divert me from believing, that Prudence is to provide for the Worst: and nothing left to Chance, that may be secur'd by Counsell. Wherefore, I proceed to my Prevention.

Prudence pro-  
vides for the  
worst.

Since the only Certainty of what is Done, or Said, comes from the Eye, or Ear; and that the Sovereign cannot be every where; so that he must either give Credit to Relation; or know nothing of Affairs at a Distance; let us Consider, by what means a Prince may most probably escape the Snares of a Mis-enformer.

To advise upon the Choice of the Instrument; is but to say, Chuse an Honest man, and he'll not betray you; And not to

to let any man deceive you twice, is but the *After-game* of *Wisdom*; for the *First Error* may be *Fatal*. We must look out some other Course then, and a better I know none, than a *Strict Justice*, and *Severity*, of *Reward*, and *Punishment*. A *False Intelligencer* is as bad as a *Spy*. Wherefore, let a Prince suppress *Calumnies*, and encourage *Accusations*, that he may not take his *Friends* for his *Enemies*, and his *Enemies* for his *Friends*. What can be a greater Injury to the *Sovereign's Honour*, then by a false Story, to cause him *Love* where he should almost *Hate*, and *Hate* where he should *Love*? Punish where he should *Reward*, and *Reward* where he should *Punish*? It breaks the Heart of *Loyalty*, this sad Mistake, and strengthens the Hands of *Treason*. Who would dare to put these *Assaults* upon *Majesty*, and *Innocence*, if upon *Detection*, the *Scandall* were made as dangerous to the *Reporter*, as the *Consequence* to the *Sufferer*? And This we take for a sufficient Mean, to keep *Malitious Buzzes* from the Ears of Princes:

Reward and  
Punishment  
keep People  
in Order.

But This is but the work half-done; for there are certain *Truths* as Necessary to be Told, as are these *Calumnies* to be Conceal'd; and where the Undertaker of the Office, runs a far greater *Risque* to serve his Prince, then the Other does to Ruin him. These Offices are discharg'd, by *Mercenary Persons*, for *Reward*; and by the *Worthier Sort*, for *Reverence-Sake*, and *Duty*. So that betwixt the *Fear* of *Punishment*, the *Hope* of *Benefit*, and the rare *Integrity* of Those that stand firm without considering *Either*; a Prince may easily secure himself of *Good Advice*, and *Right Intelligence*; and That, (at least within himself) amply suffices to his *Establishment*.

Honest Truths  
are Dangerous.

That *Kings* are *Men*; who Doubts? And 'tis as much *Their Duty* to Remember it, as 'tis *Their Subjects*, not to be too Prying into the *Slips* of their *Humanity*. Their *Clergy* are to *Prescribe* to their *Souls*; Their *Physicians*, to their *Bodies*; and their *Counsellors* are to *Advise* in Point of *Government*: But 'tis within the *Pale* of every *Private Man's Commission*, to offer his *Intelligence*. As for Example; Suppose a *Counsellor* of *State* denies the *Kings Supremacy*. Shall it be counted *Sincerity* in a *Particular Person* to acquaint the *Monarch* with it? We'll make an end with this. That *State* is in an ill Condition, where he that would save his Prince, must ruin himself: and where *One Party* is bolder so to do the *King Mischief*,

A Case put.

then.



then the Other is to do him Good. It is now high time to take another Step ; and we'll stay but a Moment upon it.

## Subsection II.

*How to frustrate a Combination of Divers Counsellors.*

**T**HE Dangers of a Combination in Divers Counsellors, are, in Respect of their Power and Privileges ; their Credit, their Dependencies, (either by Office or Expectation) Their Opportunities of Concealing or Protecting their Friends. And finally, in Respect of their Intelligence betwixt the State, and the Faction.

This Confederacy is so liable to be Discover'd, so dangerous to be Suffer'd, and so easie to be disorder'd, that it is scarce worth the while, to speak to so Manifest an Inconvenience. In little ; if they are not Removed as they are found Faulty ; Disgrac'd, as they appear Bold ; or Secluded from such Consultations as properly concern the Difference in Question : It will be a hard matter for a Prince to struggle with a Faction that is assisted by so many Advantages. If it were nothing else but the meer point of Intelligence ; it were enough to Endanger the Crown ; to have a Faction privy to all the Counsells, Resolves, Deliberations, and Necessities of the Monarch.

The Lower  
Region of the  
Court.

In the Lower Region of the Court, we have supposed Three sorts of People, that may Occasion Great Inconveniences : to wit ; Insatiate Beggars ; Corrupt Officers ; and Ill Paymasters, I might have added two more ; that is, Men of Ill Lives, and of Ill Principles. The First of these Five ; I thought to have plac'd in the Upper Division ; but it Commonly belongs to Both ; only These Beg of more ; the Other more : and to speak the truth of the business, where this trade is in Fashion, it may be observ'd, that there are not above Four or Five Beggars in Chief, and the Rest Beg under them ; as it falls out sometime in Popular Representatives ; A few Get up, and the Rest Trickle.

Four or Five  
Beggars in  
Chief.

Where This Humour is much Indulg'd, the Consequence of it, is not only Faction, within the Walls, but a General Discontentment, and Necessity throughout the Nation : For when the Ordinary ways of Profit are dispos'd of, Recourse is had

to *Project*, and *Invention*; which, if not very tenderly managed, leaves the King a sad Loser at the Foot of the Account. Beside, that it *Anticipates* the Prince his Generosity, and by *Exacting*, rather than *Obtaining*, takes away the Freedom of his Choice, and Bounty.

The way for a Prince to *Help* This, is either to put a *Sprint* upon the *Suitors*, or a *Restraint* upon his *Proper Goodness*; and even where he is *Resolved* to *Give*, not to do it *so dauntly*; lest he appear to *Give* for the *Asking*, without considering the *Merit*, (*Henry the Great*, of France, prohibited *Begging* beyond such a *Limit*).

Let him farther have a *Particular* care of Persons that grow *Proud* upon his *Favours*: The same *weakness* of mind that makes them *Proud*, will quickly make them *Sawcy* too: and the reason is, they think they have got the better of him.

*Corrupt Officers* are Another *Pest* of a *Court*, and *Bane* of a *State*: unless timely look'd after; and Then, the *Publicke* may be the *Better* for them. And 'tis no ill *Policy* in some *Corrupt Officers a General Pest.* Cases, to let Them *Squeeze* for a while, that they may be worth the *Squeezing* Themselves: for no *Supply* is more acceptable to the *Generality*, than That which is *Levy'd* upon their *Oppressors*. *An Excellent way of Raising Money.*

The miserable *Consequence* of *Ill-Payment*, we have briefly touch'd upon, *Pag. 73.* The Reason of *Ill-Payment* is commonly *Ill-Pay*; and *Many* must needs get *Nothing*, when a *Few* get *All*: from which *vast Inequality*, arise *Factions* and *Wars*. The best *Remedy* for This Evil, is, first to *Enable* Them to *Pay*, and then to leave them to the *Law* if they *Refuse*. For *Protections* are only so far *Necessary* to the *Dignity* of a *Court*, as they consist with the *Peace* and *Justice* of a *Nation*: that the *Priviledge* appear not an *Affront* to the *Law*. *Ill-pay the reason of Ill-payment.*

When a *Court* *Pays Ill*, it had need *Live Well*; for when *People* are *Poor*, they grow *Conscientious*; and for want of *Money* apply themselves to hearken after *Religion*. The *Serious* Reverence of all *Reformers* being a *Necessary* *Multitude*. Especially, let them abstain from *Costly Sins*; for to *Expend much*, and *Pay Nothing*, is a most *disasteful Incongruity*. *Want of Money makes People Religious.*

We come now to that *Canker* of the *Government*, under the *Shadow* of the *Governour*: the *Ill-Principled Courtier*: who not only causes *Sedition*, but is *Himself* the very *Tinder* of it. You must Expect to see all look *Pale* and *Wither'd*, where *The Ill-Principled Courtier.*

This

This *Worm* lies sucking at the *Root*. Can a *Prince* be *safe*, that's *serv'd* by his *Enemies*? Or a *People* *Happy* when the *Soul* of the *Publike* is in *Danger*? Yet, in some Cases, there may be *Reason of State*; and *That* known only to the *Sovereign*, for which some Persons, in *Exception* to This *General Rule*, may be *admitted*. Saving *Those* very *Individuals*, it may behove the *Prince* not to let any-one of the *Rest* escape, without a *Strict Enquiry*; both by *what Means*, and to *what likely End* they are *There Plac'd* and *Entertain'd*. Which if he does, and *Early* too; before the *whole Lump* has taken the *Leaven*; 'tis more than an *Even Lay*, that he'll find *Reason* to *Remove* Them. Now to the *Camp*.

## Sect. IV.

*How to Prevent Disorders arising from the C A M P.*

Dangers from  
the Camp.

THE Dangers from the *Camp*, are Principally these Three; *Mutiny*, *Revolt*, or *Popular Risings*, (provoked by the *Oppression* or *Insolence* of the *Souldiery*) Of *These*, in their *Order*.

How Mutinies  
may be caused.

*Mutinies* may be *Caus'd* by *Want of Pay*; some defect of *Discipline*; by *New-Modelling*; *Disbanding*; *Disgrace*, &c. And, all *These Disorders* may be procur'd by the *Artifice* of some particular Persons that aim at an *Advantage* by them.

That *Prince* that *Raises* an *Army* which he cannot *Pay* *Himself*, raises it (in effect) for some body else that *can*. In short, a very great *Hazard* it is, to have the *Souldiery* *Dependent* upon any *Other Interest* then *That* of the *Monarch*. Where it so falls out, that a *Prince* lies subjected to the *Double Inconvenience*, both of having an *Army*, and of *Wanting Money*; Let him be sure of a most *Exquisite Choice* of *Officers*, both for *Honesty*, and *Ability*: That the *Body* likewise may be *well Chosen*, and *well Govern'd*. For he has enough to do, that undertakes to keep his *Troops* in *Order*, without *Pay*; but if they want *Affection* too, the *Point* is *Desperate*. This is the *Nick of Danger*, and *Temptation*; for a *Necessitous Army*, of *This Mixture*, is any man's *Money* that will

will offer for it: Wherefore in such a Juncture, a Monarch cannot be too wary, of all Popular and Suspected Practices. Let him be sparing also, even in his Personall, and Private Expenses, at such a time as This: For Military Spirits are apter to take fire then Other People; and so distrust the Kindness of their Master, if they observe that he has *Many* for his Pleasures, and *none* for his Servants. An Observation, possibly neither *Fit*, nor *True*: However, when men are discontented, they look upon small kindresses as Nothing, and they see Injuries Double.

The next hazard is, upon the Point of Discipline; which, in an unpaid Army, can very hardly be Preserv'd, but by the Exceeding Worshinesse, and Prudence of the Officers. Nor by That neither, beyond their Interest and Credit of Persuading: for Punishment were Tyranny without Wages.

Good Pay will bear good Discipline.

The New-Modelling of an Army is also a tickle Undertaking: and so is the Disbanding. The Former is the sharper Disobligation; but 'tis but Personall: The Latter is the more Dangerous, for it Destroys the Trade: And the Perill is either from the Influence of some Chief Officers in the One; or from a Disposition common to all Military, as well as Naturall bodies, in the Other: that is, an Averseness to Dissolution. Both the One and the Other, are a work to be dispatch'd with as much Care, and with as little Noise, as possible: very Tenderly, and by Degrees.

Modelling and Disbanding are dangerous.

If any Trouble be Apprehended from the Displacing of some Particulars, (as he may possibly resent the Loss of Power; or the Disgrace of being singled out to lose it after such a Manner;) 'tis but Casting out to him the Lure of a Better Office, or of a Higher Preferment: wherein he may be more Serviceable to himself, and less Dangerous to the Publick. Or if he be too Crafty; to stoop to That; the way is to begin with his Dependencies. This leaves him Naked; and the Other Satisfied: At least in show, since to the World he appears rather Exalted, then Ejected.

How to New-model an Army.

Disbanding is a Nicer piece of business: The very Word is scarce to be Mention'd, till the Thing is Done. For 'though the State may be Judge when 'tis Convenient to Raise an Army; the Souldiers are commonly the Judge, when 'tis time to

How to Disband.

by it down again. A Good Preparatory to This, is *Advertizing*, and *Dispersing*, before they have the wind of the Design to prevent their *whiring* against it. And by Degrees; One Regiment at a time; to keep the Rest Quiet, in hope of *Continuing*. But That be done by Lots too, for the Losing Party will sooner forgive a *Mischance*, than an *Unkindness*. Touching *Animosities* that proceed either from opinion of *Disgrace*; dispute concerning *Precedency*, *Command*, *Provision*, *Quarrel*, &c. they may be refer'd to want of *Discipline*.

The Causes of  
Revolts.

The Causes of *Revolts*, may be as many as of *Discontents*. But the *Principal*, are either *Fear*, *Despair*, *Revenge*, or *Inconstancy* in the *Common-Souldiery*. And they may likewise be *Procur'd*, either by the *Ambition*, or *Corruption* of the *Chief Officers*.

A good Choice  
is the best Se-  
curity against  
a Revolt.

The best *Security* against These *General Defections*, is in the *Original Election*, and *Constitution* of the *Army*. Wherefore let heed be taken (as near as may be) even to the *finest* of the *meanest Private Souldiour*: which in a fair degree may be attain'd, by good choice of *Valiant*, *Prudent*, *Vigilant*, and *Faithfull Officers*. Why should a *Kingdom* be *hazarded* for a *Trifle*? How small a matter added to either side carries an *Equall Balance*! A *Word*, a *Thought*, an *Imagination*, a *Mistake* turns the *Fortune* of the *Day*, and *Decides the Battell*. Is any thing more ordinary than a *Panick Terror*, in a *Croud* of *People*? which, as *Mr. Hobbs* hints in his *Leviathan*; is only an *Apprehension* of *Danger*, in the first man that *Runs*; the Rest, *Fearing*, and *Running* by example, every man supposing his *Fellow* to know why. At This Rate, *Ten Com- mands may destroy Twenty Thousand Valiant men*.

Against *Despair*; Arguments are best upon the *Place*: *Revenge* may be *Prevented* by a *Generous*, and *Military Severity*. So that they shall neither have any *Provocation* to the *At- tempt*, nor *Security* in the *Excursion*: But against Their *Inconstancy* there is no *Remedy*.

The *mischieves* which may arrive upon the account of *Ambition*, or *Corruption*, are scarce to be *Prevented*, But by choosing *Persons* of an *Impregnable Fidelity*; or Otherwise the *Pairest Bidder* carries it. And against *Popular Risings*, nothing better than a *Strict Discipline*; and an *Impartial Justice* betwixt the *Souldiery* and the *Country*. It does well also, to Interest *Both Parties*, (*Civill*, and *Military*) as fairly as possible, in the



the Common Care of the Publick: For a Pure Military Force has the Face rather of an Enemy, than of a Guard: But where Persons of Eminent Reputation, and Integrity in the Country are joyned in Commission with others as Eminent for Martial Affairs, Both sides are satisf'd, and the Common Good better provided for.

SECT. V.

How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditions arising from the CITY.

WHERE the Metropolis is not well Season'd, and in good Order, Many, and Great are the Advantages it has to Dispute a Government. It has Men, Money, and Arms always at hand. But yet let a Prince, in his Greatest Distress, have a Care how he Abandons it; for 'tis by much a more dangerous Enemy at a Distance, then at Home.

The Danger of an Ill-order'd City.

The Ordinary Pretences of a Troubled City, are either concerning Religion, Oppression, Privileges, or Poverty, but still 'tis Ambition that sets the Wheel going; and it is the Monarch's yielding at first, that destroys him in the End. For while the Party is Tender, and Wavering; the Humour Corrigible, and the Authority of the Prince, not as yet either exposed by Patience, or Prophan'd by Popular Contempt, and the Insolencies of the Rabble; Then is the time, to cut off all Possibility of Sedition. Murmurings are but the Smoke of Rebellion; the Fire's already in the Straw, but easily smother'd: That is, if seasonably look'd after: for if it break forth into a Blaze, All the Buckets in the Town will hardly Quench it. The very first Musterings against the Government, are but a pretty way of putting the Question; as who should say, Sir, May we Rebel? And the Forbearance of the Prince, seems to Answer them: Yes; Ye may. And Then, to work they go.

First, upon Religion: the most Dangerous, and the most wicked Quarrell in Nature. Is there a God? Or, Is there none? Let any Reasonable Rebel, whether Atheistick, or Religious, answer me. If a God there be; Upon what Nation will he power out the fierceness of his Wrath; Upon what Heads will he employ his Thunder? If not upon That Nation, where his Divinity is made a Stake; His Majesty Affronted in

Pretext of Religion is a dangerous and wicked Quarrel. Is there a God?

all his *Attributes*: And upon *Those Heads*, that entitle the *Basest of Corruptions* to his *Immaculate Purity*; and the *Diablates* of the *Devill*, to the *Inspirations* of the *Blessed Spirit*.

Or is there  
None?

Now to *Those* that say in their Heart, *There is no God*: They'l yet allow the *Political Convenience* of persuading the *People* otherwise. So that where *This Freedom* in *Matters of Religion* is permitted to the *Multitude*: Either the *Abuse* draws down a *Vengeance* from *Heaven*, or the *Superstitious League* among the *People* unites a *Party* against the *Sovereign*.

All Seditions  
proceed from  
Misgovern-  
ment.

To deal frankly; *All Seditions* are to be imputed to *Misgovernment*: To the want of *Early Care* in the *Magistrate*. *One Man* begins; *He Imparts* himself to *Others*; *They Confer* with *Their Interests*, and so the *Mischief Branches* it self, till it comes to *Overspread* a *Nation*. How *easie* a *matter* is it, to *Smother* a *Spark* in the *Tinder-Box*? A little *Harder*, to *blow out* a *Candle*: *Harder yet*, to *put out* the *Fire*. In short, when the *Town* is in a *Flame*, thank *Him* that neglected the *first Spark*.

Begin with  
the Clergy to  
prevent  
Schism.

The *Prince* that would prevent *Schismaticall Seditions*, in a *City*, must begin with the *Clergy*, and assure himself of the *Pulpit*. To say 'tis *Dangerous*; may in some *Cases* be a *Truth*. But *Dangerous* as it is; If it be *more so*, to let them *Alone*. What signifies that *Objection*? Suppose the *Hazard* almost desperate, on the *One side*: But there's a *never failing Certainty* on the *Other*: Here 'tis *Hard*; There 'tis *Impossible*. It is *Necessary* also to suppress *Conventicles*, *Pamphlets*, and all other *Irregularities*, which either *Draw People together*, or *Unite* them, in *Order* to a *Separation*.

Let the Magi-  
stracy be well-  
affected.

In a *Particular manner*, let heed be taken, that the *Magistracy* of the *City*, consist of *Persons Well-affected* to the *Government* of the *Church*: And if they *Struggle*, let them be *timely Taught*, that the *Liberty* of their *Charter*, does not discharge the *Bond* of their *Allegiance*. This *Strikeness* ought to be *indispensible*; for it is not to be *Expected*, that *One Schismatick* should *Punish Another*.

The *Second Grievous Complaint* is *Oppression*; and whether it be *True* or *False*, let it be *strongly Urg'd* and *Credited*, 'tis the same thing.

Oppression  
procur'd by  
Ill-Instru-  
ments.

*Some Oppressions* are *Procur'd* at the *Instance* of certain *Ill Instruments* about the *Sovereign*; on purpose to stir up the *People* against him. And this is done by *shewing how Other Princes*

*Princes hamper Their Capital Cities : Never considering, that the same manner of Governing will no more fit all Varieties of Custom, Temper, and Scituation, than the same Doublet and Hose will fit all Bodies. And then they Cry, This Damn'd City must be Humbled and Taken down. 'Tis very Right; but This must be spoken softly, and done warily. For to Level the Menace at the City, in stead of the Delinquent, is a great mistake. In such a Heat as This, a Prince needs no more than Three or Four Churlish and Rash Officers; Two on Three spiteful and Illegal Actions, to bring his Royalty in danger. Briefly; a Mean there is, betwixt Fury and Slumber; and equally ruinous to Princes, are Those Counsels that lead to either of These Extreems.*

*May not That very Thing which these People pretend they aim at, be done by Gentle, Legal, and Familiar Means? Let them Choose their own Officers; That pleases the City: But 'tis the Publick Care to see the Choice be Honest: and that secures the Prince. On the One side, no Clemency can be too great, that stands with the Rule of Government: On the Other side, no Severity too strict, in Case of a Contumacy that Crosses it.*

*Burthensom Taxes are many times a Great Complaint, and sometimes a Just One.. Lighter, or Heavier they are according to the various Humours of the Prince; and the different Exigencies of Times and Occasions; Nay, and according to the differing Disposition in the People at several times, to understand them.. Publick Necessities must be Supply'd; and the Supream Magistrate, is the Judge of Publick Necessities. Yet still where a more than Ordinary Levy is Necessary, the Ordinary way of Raising it may be Convenient: for the One way, they only stumble at the Present Burthen; but the Other, they are startled with an Apprehension of the Perpetuity of it. In which Case, it fares with Rulers, as it does with Racking Landlords, in Comparison with Those that Let better Penny-worths. The One has more in his Rental, but the Other has more in his Pocket: And the Reason is; the Tenants run away with the Rent.*

*Sir Francis Bacon is of Opinion, That [Taxes and Imposts upon Merchants, do seldom good to the King's Revenue; for that he wins in the Hundred, he loses in the Shire; the Particular Rates being Encreased, but the Total Bulk of Trading rather Decreased.]*

*Though the Levy be Extraordinary, let the Way be Ordinary.*

*Some*

## A MEMENTO.

Some Oppressions again there are, that proceed only from the violence of *Extorting*, and *Corrupt Officers*. To Complaints against Abuses of this Quality, a Prince his Ear is to be ever Open; for it is in a *Peculiar manner*, his Duty, to Relieve the Oppressed.

Priviledges are  
Sacred.

A Prince that *Invaides the Priviledges* of a City, Breaks his Word: If they are *Forfeited*, he may *Resume*, or *Remit* at Pleasure: *Orberwise*, let them stand *Sacred*. It can never be safe to Govern *ad Libitum*: for when People find no *Securiry* in Obedience, it puts them upon the Experiment of *Sedition*. If a Monarch has an *Over-grown Subject*, that he would be quit of; that he would *Sacrifice* to his *Proper Advantage*; let him but give him a *Temptation* to *Encroach* upon the *Rights* or *Customs* of his *Imperial City*: and if he take the *Bait*, let him *Discover* him, and bring him upon the *Stage* of a *Publick Oppressor*. Such an *Action* lays That City at his Feet. To Finish; That Prince that would have his Subjects firm to Him, in *Danger*, must be *Kind* to Them, in *Peace*.

Poverty is a  
terrible Enc-  
my.

The Fourth and Last Motive to *Sedition*, is *Poverty*: A *Terrible Enemy* to a *Great* and *Populous City*; Nor is such a City, in *Extream Want*, a less *Formidable Enemy* to the Monarch: for *Hunger* is neither to be *Aw'd*, nor *Flatter'd*.

The Prince  
not to forsake  
his Metropolis.

The Causes of it are so many, and so uncertain, 'tis hard to assign particular Remedies. In some Cases, *Restraint of Building* is convenient; In others, *Sumptuary Laws*; the *Regulation* and *Improvement* of *Trade*; The calling of *Corrupt Ministers* to *Account*, &c.—For fear of the worst, it is good, if the *Necessitous Party* grow *Numerous*, for the Prince rather to make War with Them abroad, then to stay, till They make it upon Him, at Home; by That means, exchanging a *Civil War*, for a *Forreign*.

If the Mischief be too far gone, and that it breaks forth into a *Direct Sedition*; yet can it very hardly happen, that a Prince can warrant the *forsaking* of his *Metropolis*.

First, with *Five Hundred Men* he keeps a *Million* in *Awe*; That is, If He Himself, and his whole Party, be not *Comp'd up under the same Roof*, They can *Destroy Him*, by *Number*; and He, Them, by *Fire*; in case of being put to that last *Extremity*.

Next;

Next ; Let the Prince but carry the *First Scuffle*, and (the World to nothing) the *Town is his own*. Whereas, let Him *withdraw* ; so great is the *Advantage* he leaves to the *Rebels*, both as to the *Readiness*, and *Proportion of Men*, and *Provisions for War* ; that (at a *Distance*) he may get the *Better of Five or Six Pick'd Barrels*, and yet *Loſe all at Laſt*. For They ſhall ſooner *Re-enforce a Broken Army*, than He *Recruit a Scatter'd Regiment*.

A *Third Reason* may be, that it *leſſens the Reputation* of his *Power*, to give *Ground*.

We ſhall conclude with the *Fourth* ; which is, That *Citi- zens* will ſtand better, far from *Home*, than under their own *Walls* : for what with the *Importunities* of their *Relations* : Their *Interests* in *view* ; and the *Convenience* of a *Near Re- treat* ; They *Fight in Diſtraction*. We ſpeak here of a *Ci- vil War*, for againſt a *Foreign Force* ; Theſe *Reasons* tran- ſport them into a more *Determinate Obſtination*. From the *City*, now to the *Country*.

Sect. VI.

How to Prevent Seditions from the COUNTRY.

IT is very rarely ſeen that the *Country* begins a *Seditious Quarrel*, unleſs in caſe of ſome *Barbarous* and *Depopulating Tyranny*, or for pure want of *Bread*. In *Truth*, their *Busi- neſs* is too *Innocent*, and They're ſo *Full on't* too, they have ſcarce *Leiſure* from their *Sleep* and *Labour* to *Think of Wrang- ling* ; and when they do, they *dread it*. The hurt They do, is by *Siding*, and *Seconding*, and That *Unwillingly* too : So that to keep Them *Quiet*, no more is *Necceſſary*, than to have an *Eye* upon their *Parrons*, and to allow the *Common Sort* only to *Live* upon their *Labours*.

Sect.



# A M E M E N T O.

## Sect. VII.

### Certain CAUTIONS Directing how to Prevent and Avoid Dangers arising from the BODY REPRESENTATIVE.

**T**Here are Three Grand Hazards which Occur in the Consideration of a *Body Representative*. The Choice of the Persons; The Manage of Affairs; And the Subject Matter of their Consultations.

Let the Choice  
be Legal and  
Prudent.

Touching the Choice; Regard must be first had to the *Legality*; and Then, to the *Prudence* of it. : That the Candidate may be of such *Age* and *Quality*; and Chosen in such *Manner*, as the *Law* of the Place requires: And moreover, that he be a Person of *Moral Integrity*; A Lover of his *Prince* and *Country*; and One that Understands his *Duty* and *Employment*. There is a *Duty* also Incumbent upon the *Electors*; That they be not *Corrupted* by *Money*, *Overborn* by *Importunity*, or *Transported* by *Fear*, or *Favour*, to an *Unworthy* and *Unsuitable Choice*. From the want of This *Care* and *Fidelity*, proceed many times the *Ruine* of *Princes*, and the *Subversion* of *Kingdoms*.

Before the *Sovereign* Summons This *Grand Convention*, he may consider how the *Last Ended*; the *Present Temper* of his *People*; and hold a *Strict Intelligence* concerning such *Persons*, and *Fellowships*, as are likely to *Cross* him.

If the *Last Assembly* *Acted* and *Concluded* to the *Satisfaction* of *Himself* and the *Kingdom*, he may *Hope* well of the *Next*: but if the *Contrary*, let him expect a *Faction*: Unless in the *Intervall*, he take off That *Animosity*: which may be attain'd by doing That *Himself*, as of his own *meer Grace*, and *Motion*, which may bear some *Proportion* with what they would have done by Their *Deputies*: but within the *Bounds* of *Honour* and *Prudence*, there's a great *Difference*; betwixt a

Better the So-  
vereign Re-  
form, than the  
Council.

King's *Reforming* of *Abuses* by *Himself*, and by his *Counsell*: In the *One Case*, it looks as if the *People* help'd *Themselves*: and makes them think better of their *Own Authority*, then they ought to do: In the *Other*, they find *Themselves* *Dependent* upon the *Grace* of the *Sovereign*, and ascribe the

Relief

*Relief to his Bounty*; In fine, it is no tamis for a Prince still to usher in, the *Call of his Great Assembly* with some *Particular Obligation* upon his *Subjects*.

As to the Rest, if the Prince finds the *Temper* of the People *Peevish*, and *Factions Boyling*; such as no *Clemency*, and *Goodness* can Engage; the less Subject for *Clamour* he leaves them, 'tis the *Better*; and if upon *Convening*, he finds the *Mixture Petulant*, and *Soure*; he may with the less noise *Dismiss* them.

According to the *Choice of Persons*, will be the *Manage of Affairs*: The *Publick Good*; *Particular Justice*, and the *Dignity of the Assembly*, will be the *Chief Care* of a *Good Choice*: but if the *Choice* be *Bad*; These *Noble Offices*, and *Regards*, will be the *Least part of their Business*. They fall then into *Partialities*, and *Sidings*; *Help me to day*, and *Ple Help you to morrow*. *Acts of State* will be *Bias'd* by *Particular Interests*: *Matters Concluded by Surprise*, rather then by any *formal Determination*; and the *Reverence of Order*, and *Reason* will be dash'd out of *Countenance*, by the *Voicings of Faction*, and *Clamour*.

The Effects of a good Choice and of a bad.

As *Politick Bodies* have no *Souls*, so *Publick Persons* should have no *Bodies*: but leave those *Impediments of Justice*, and *Distractions of Counsell*; (*Project and Passion*) at the *Dore of the Senate*. In short; where such a *Partiality* happens, as we here imagine, the *Two main Mischiefs* are These: The *Iniquity of the end*, or the *Disorder of the Means*. The *Former* may in some Measure be *Prevented*, by an *Oath to deal Uprightly*: (but the *Grand Failing* was in the *Election*.) The *Later* may be *Regulated* by such a *Clearness of Rule and Method*; together with such a *Strictness* in the *Observation of That Rule*, that both *Every man* may know his *Duty*, and no man dare to *Transgress* it.

The Mischiefs of Partiality.

But Concerning the *Subject Matter* now of their *Consultations*: There lies the *Peril*, when they come to reach at *Affairs Foreign* to their *Cognisance*. The *Hazard* is This; step by step, They *Encroach* upon the *Sovereign*; Claiming a *Right to One Encroachment*, from the *President of another*. So that Meeting with an unwary Prince, they *Steal away* his *Prerogative* by *Inches*; and when perchance His *Successor* comes to *Resume his Right*; That *Pilfery* is call'd the *Liberty of the Subject*, and There's a *Quarrel* started betwixt the

S

King

Better a Ty-  
ranny, than  
an Anarchy.

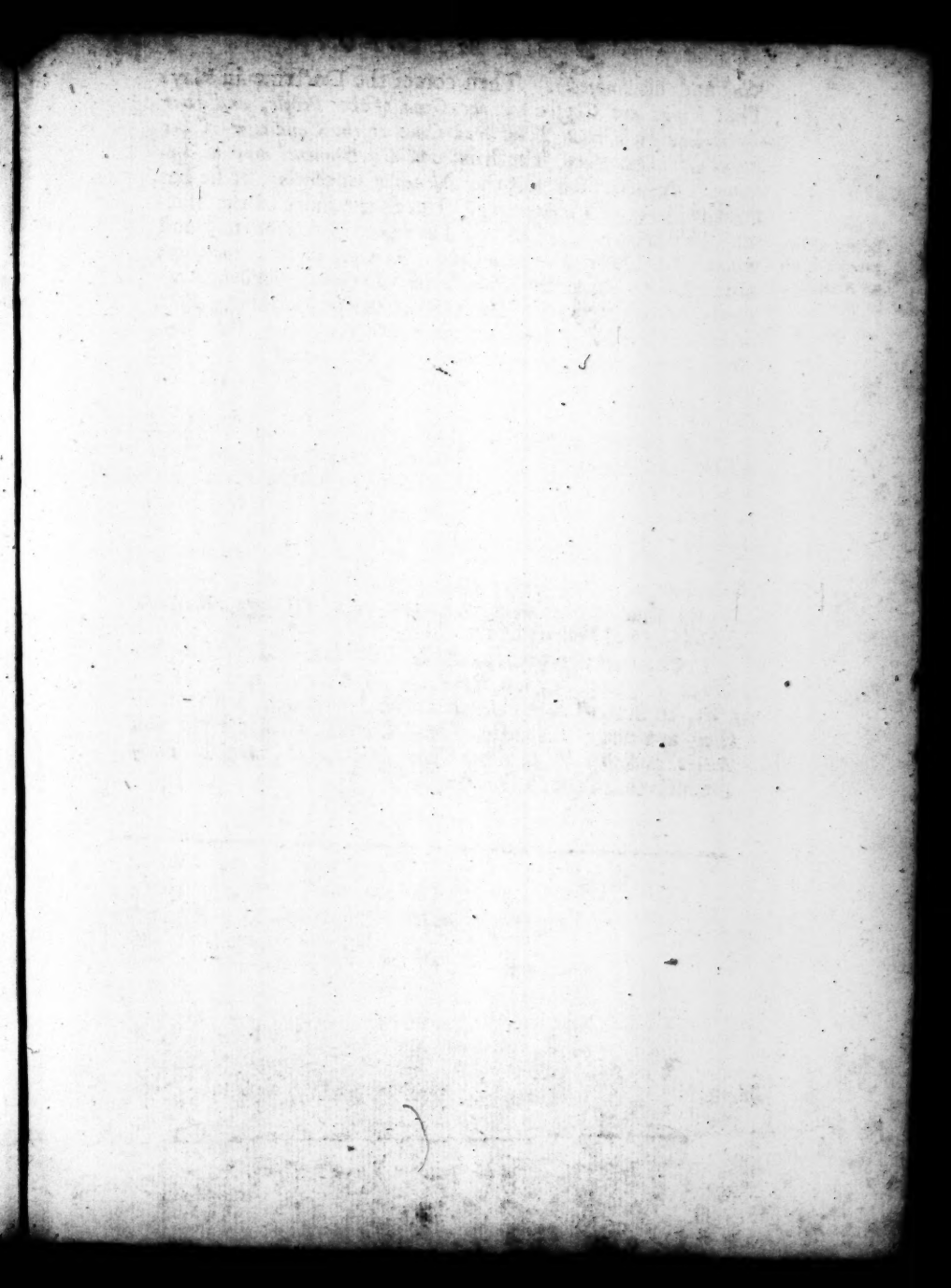
*King and his Subjects.* Then comes the Doctrine in Play: That Kings are Chosen for the Good of the People, and that the Discharge of that Trust and Care is the Condition of his Royalty. The very Truth is, All Government may be Tyranny. A King has not the Means of Governing, if he has not the Power of Tyrannizing. Here's the short of the Matter: We are certainly Destroy'd without a Government, and we may be Destroy'd with One: So that in Prudence, we are rather to choose the Hazard of a Tyranny, than the Certainty of being worry'd by One-another. Without more words, The Vulgar End of Government is, to keep the Multitude from Cutting One-anothers Throats: which they have ever found to be the Consequence of Casting off their Governours.

When Popular Conventions have once found This Trick of gaining Ground upon the Sovereign; they catch their Principles, commonly as they do their Horses, with a Sieve, and a Bridle: (a Subsidy, and a Perpetual Parliament) If They'll take the Bit, they shall have Oats. But These are the Dictates of Ignorance and Malice: for such is the Mutual Tie and Interest of Correspondency betwixt a Monarch and his People; that Neither of them can be Safe or Happy, without the Safety and Felicity of the Other.

The best way to prevent the Ill Consequence of the Peoples Depuities acting beyond their Orb, is Clearly, and Particularly, to State Those Reserves of the Prerogative, with which they are not to Meddle. And likewise to set forth the Metes and Bounds of their own Priviledges, which They themselves are not to Transgress.

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E I N I S,



# MEMENTO.

TREATING,

OF THE

*Rise, Progress, and Remedies of*

SEDITIONS:

WITH SOME

Historical Reflections

UPON THE

*SERIES of Our late Troubles.*

---

By Roger L'Estrange.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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Printed in the Year 1642, and now Reprinted for Joanna Bromes,  
at the GUN, at the West-end of St. Pauls:

MDCLXXXII.



to their Duty, gave the King his own again, without those Shackles and Conditions which the *Qualifiers* would have impos'd upon his Majesty: Upon whose *Loyal* and *Imperial Freedom*, depends the *Safety* and *Well-being* of his People.

### C. A. P. VIII.

The Usurper Oliver was principally distress'd by the War with Spain, and his Standing Army.

WE have now brought Rebellion from the Cradle to the Grave; We have seen it Triumphant, and now we see it in the Dust, subjected at the Feet of our Most Gracious Sovereign, to account for the Blood of his Royal Father: Be it our Business next to enquire, What hindred Oliver from Establishing himself? Upon what Reason of State, Cause, Error, or Necessity, that prosperous Usurper fail'd.

But some will not allow he fail'd; as if the sole Fatality of the Cause was his Decease; and the Design only miscarried through the ill Manage of a weak Successor. For granted; by good Order, it might have been Cuddled up, and kept above ground a little longer: But still it seems to Me, that before Oliver Dy'd, the Cause was Bed-rid, and Hellick, past Recovery.

Cromwell's Rise to the Sovereignty.

Opinion is Free; any Mans as Mine, and Mine as any Mans: so that submitting my Reasons to the Wise, and Recommending my Weakness to the Charitable, I proceed.

Cromwell did wisely to take his Rise to the Sovereignty upon the Neck of those Usurpers whom he cast out in 1653. For in the same Action, he Oblig'd the People, Master'd his Enemies, and Fill'd his Pockets. Yet were not those Means that advanc'd the Tyrant, sufficient to Establish him.

What hindred his Establishment.

One Obstacle was the Inconsistence of his Doctrine with his Design: for the same Arguments that Rais'd him, Ruin'd him. The People were instructed to Destroy Kings, not to set them Up: and beside, he that had so many Sharers in the Hazards of the Rebellion, could not fail of some Competitors for the Benefit of it.

Further,

# A MEMENTO.

Further, he had no considerable Party *sure* to his Interest; and all, but his Meer Creatures and Allies, were utter Enemies to it. The City Hated him for their Loss of Trade; the Country, for their Taxes; the Royalists, for his Rebellion, and Cruelty; the Presbyterians, for his Breach of Covenant; (That is, for not destroying the King after *Their Way*); The Levellers, for his Ambition; and, in fine, all the hope he had, was to New-Modell an Army to his purpose; that fail'd him too at last, for want of Money, and Credit to maintain it. Which *Want* was chiefly hasten'd, and procur'd by his precipitate Breach with Spain, together with the Necessity of keeping up a Standing Army.

He w<sup>as</sup> Generally Hated.

The Former of These was doubtless his Mistake; (or rather a Temerity scarce advised upon.) For having brought the Hollander to his Knees, (the only Stranger he had then to fear) and after That, *shak'd hands* with him; his next Course should have been by Thrift and Popularity to Ingratiate himself at Home, and not by a Rambling, Needless, and Expensive War, to squander away the life-blood of the Nation, and in That Indigent Extremity of the State, to make Ducks and Drakes with the Publick Treasure. Nor was the Consequence less Fatal to him, than was the Enterprize (to a common Eye) Imprudent: the hopes of carrying his Design, in no wise Countervailing the *risque* he ran of losing all he had Got, in case he missed it.

The war with Spain was an Oversight.

I might Instance in a Thousand ways of Profusion, and Oppression Common to all Usurpers, both Practised by Him, and exposing him to great Necessities, but I shall rather bestow the rest I have to say, upon the Fatality of that Tyrant's Condition; Which forced him to make use of for his Safety, the greatest of all Dangers, to wit, A Standing Army.

A Standing Army dangerous.

For Order sake, We'll first Consider, Upon what Pretense, and to what end 'twas Rais'd.

In the Next Place; We'll see what it produc'd, and weigh the Benefits with the Inconveniences.

Lastly; Wee'll look into the probable Effects, and Influence of it; as related to the English Temper, Custom, and Government.

To the first; what I here call a Standing Army, was but the Improvement of a *Shight* Temporary Force rais'd, (in pretense at first as an Expedient against Plots, (being indeed it self the Greatest) but Encreas'd, Continued, and Carried on, by Policy,

The Rise of Cromwells Standing Army.

Ibid.

The Consequences of the  
House of Commons  
Guard.

The Effects of  
a Standing  
Army.

and Power. This Project came from the *Cabale* in 1641. Concoct'd under the Notion of *A Guard for the House of Commons*: [*Who conceiv'd that they could not wish the Safety of their Persons, (upon which the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom did then depend) sit any longer Unarmed, and Unguarded*] — so great were their [*Apprehensions, and just Fears of mischievous Designs, to ruine and destroy them*].

This was the Popular Colour for that *Guard*, *Plots*, and the *Safety* of the *Publick*. Where the *Plot* was, in *Truth*; and where the *Real Danger*; may be gather'd from the *Pratisses* of Those *Armies*, whereof The *Guard* aforesaid was but the *Rise* and *Foundation*. (And That's the point we handle next.)

The setting of This little Force a foot, was a fair Step toward the *Militia*; One *Guard* begetting *Another*; and the same Reason standing good, for the *Augmenting*, and *Upholding* of Those *Troops*, which was employ'd for the first *Raising* of them. The *Parliament* was first in *Danger*; the *City*, Next; and Then the *Nation*: and as their *Jealousies* Encreas'd, so must Their *Forces*, till by *Degrees* they grow to an *Army*. The *King*, and his *Adherents*, they call the *Common-Enemy*; whom they *Invaide* and *Vanquish*.

Here's their work done in short; what have they now to fear? Only *New-Modelling*, or *Disbanding*. A blessed Translation of the *Government*, from the *Rule* of the *Law*, to the *Power* of the *Sword*! and There to *abide*, till One *Army* be remov'd by *Another*: That is, the *Tyranny* abides; tho' under several *Formes*, and *Tyrants*.

Our *LEGIONS* of the *Reformation*, were Rais'd by certain *Rebellious Lords*, and *Commons*; and Seconded by the *City of London*. We'll see now, how they behav'd themselves towards their *Masters* and *Friends*.

In 1647. the *Army Reformes*, and *Purges* the *House*; *Presses* their *Dissolution*. Seizes their *General Pointz* in the *Norib*; Squeezes and Menaces the *City of London*; Marches up to it, and in *Triumph* through it. Takes Possession of the *Tower*; Charges the *Mayor* with divers *Aldermen* and *Citizens*, of *High-Treason*. Alters their *Militia's*, and *Common-Councils*; and finally, gives the *Law* to the *House*, and *That* to the *Nation*.

In Decemb. 1648. the *Army* gives the *House* another *Purge*; and the year following, *Cromwell* himself had like to have been out-trick'd by the *Levellers* about *Banbury*.

In 1633. The Army Calls off the Old Covenanters, and up-  
goes Oliver, who calls Another, only to get a Fax and  
Tide: and when They had done the One half, and made way  
to the Other; off goes This too. The Next was call'd in  
1634. another after That in 1636. and Both were serv'd  
with the same Sauce.

If Cromwell could as easily have moulded the Army, as That  
did the House, his business had been done with half the Cer-  
emony; but Money was Their business, and Kingship His, so that  
they help'd him in the One, and Cross'd him in the Other.

In Septemb. 1658. Oliver Dies; and Then, they are Ra-  
thard's Army; whose piousne Highness must have His Parlia-  
ment too. They meet; and notwithstanding a huge Pack of  
Officers and Lawyers, the Vote prov'd utterly Republican, and  
Friend, neither to Single Person, nor Army.

Note.

Now, Richard takes his turn: but first, down goes his Par-  
liament: and for a while, the Army-Officers, undertake the  
Government.

Some Ten days after, up with the Rump again, and then  
they'r Lenthall's Army: which, in Octob. 1659. throws out  
the Rump, and now they'r Fleetwood's Army. Enter the Rump  
once more in Decemb. and once more the Army comes about a-  
gain. The Rump's next Exit, is for ever, March the 16. 1660.

Exit  
The Rump.

Behold the Thorough Reformation; and every Change Seal'd  
with a Sacrament; to have been an Act of Conscience, and gui-  
ded by a Divine Impulse.

Behold the Staff of the Rebellion; both the Support and Pu-  
nishment of it; a Standing Army.

While Plots could either be Procured, or credibly suggested,  
the Innocent were their Prey, and when That entertainment  
fail'd them, they worried one another: never at Peace; betwixt  
the Scrives, first to Subject the Nation, and then to Govern it.

So long as the Royal Interest was in Vigour; it was the  
Faction's Policy to engage all sorts of People, whom they  
could possibly Unite against That Interest, however Disagree-  
ing among Themselves, their first work being only to Destroy  
the King) and This was the Composition of the first Army.

All Factions  
unite against  
the King.

From Killing they Proceed to take Possession; and here En-  
faced a greater Difficulty.

They divide.

A Force is Necessary still, but the State of the Dispute being  
Chang'd, the Former Mixture is not for their present purpose:



the Conspiratours that agreed to overthrow the Government, being now Divided who shall Enjoy it: Hereupon, they fall to Sorting and Purging of Parties; the Independent at last carrying it, and Oliver in the Head of them.

And Subdivide

After this Decision of the Contest betwixt the Two Factions, the Army it self divides; and Cromwell is now more puzzled with the Private Contrivements of his own Officers, then he was before with the open Power of his profess'd Enemies, for they are clearly for his Ruling with them, but not over them: so that unless he can both Uphold them for his Security, and Modell them for his Design, he does nothing: In Both He labour'd, and beyond Question, Dy'd in the Despair of perfecting Either, finding upon Experience, that his Ambition was as Intolerable to his Party, as the Charge of Continuing his Army was to the Publique; and what the Latter was, we'l read in his own words, deliver'd at a Conference, April 21. 1657.

The present Charge (says he) of the Forces both by Sea and Land, including the Government, will be 2226989 l. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland, is about 1900000 l. I think this was Reckoned at the Most, as now the Revenue stands: Why now towards This, you settle by your Instrument 1300000 l. for the Government, and upon That Account to maintain the Force by Sea and Land, and This without Land Tax I think, and this is short of the Revenue, that now may be Raised by the Government, 600000 l. because you see the Present Government is 1900000 l. and the whole Summ which may now be Raised, comes short of the Present Charge to 52689 l. And although an End should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a Necessity of the Preservation of the Peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the Present Established Army in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also a considerable Fleet, for some good Time; until it shall please God to Quiet, and Compose Mens Minds, and bring the Nation to some better Consistency: so that Considering the Pay of the Army, coming to upwards 1100000 l. per annum, and the Government 300000 l. it will be necessary, that for some convenient Time, seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a Wound healed before it be; that there should be Raised over and above 1300000 l. the Summ of 600000 l. per annum, which makes up the Summ of 1900000 l. That likewise the Parliament



Parliament declares how far they will carry on the Spanish War; and for what Time, and what farther Summ they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what Time; and if these Things be not Ascertained, as one saith, Money is the Cause certainly, what ever the Cause is; if Money be Wanting, the business will fall to the ground, and all our Labour will be Lost, and therefore I hope you will have a care of our Undertakings.

How many Souls, Lives, Millions; and Noble Families; How well a Temper'd Government; How Gracious a Prince, and happy a People, were by This Cursed Army Destroy'd; will need no more then their own Consciences to determine, when Divine Vengeance shall call them to a Reckoning. It brought forth (briefly) the worst of Crimes, and Mischiefs, without the least Tincture of a Comfort, or shadow of a Benefit. Nor was it likely to do other, if we consider either the People, Place, Custome, or Government, they were to work upon.

Concerning the People (first) [*Populi ferè omnes ad Aquilonem positi, Libertatem quandam sperant*] 'Tis Bodin's observati-  
on, that your Northern Nations are Generally keen Assertours of Freedom; (which for their Parts, the English made too true) The English Impatient of Slavery.  
How could it be Expected then, that a People, which Oppos'd their Lawful Prince for the fear of Slavery, should ever finally Submit to a Rebellious Usurper under the Actual and Shameful Extermity of it? This Reluctancy of Humour in the Generality, joyn'd with the Particular Vigilance, Loyalty, and Enterprizings of the Royalists; render'd those Courses Necessary at present, to the Usurper, which must certainly sink him in the End.

Nor was it more against the Genius of the People, than against the Interest and Reason of the Place.

The Place, we are to consider as an Island; no Foreign Danger then in view, to Palliate the Oppression of an Army; nor any Subject whereupon to turn the Influence of it. No Stranger in the Case concern'd; only at Variance with our selves; we breed and nourish in our proper bowels, the Evil that Devours, or, at the best, Consumes us. The Army fear'd the Plots, but 'twas the Nation felt them, and the Result of all was only a Dispute betwixt the Civil and the Military Power; Law, and Necessity: so that Effectually (the two Parties of this

this Division thus Enterwatching and Counter-Plotting one another) we were rather in a State of War than a Posture of Security, the People being at this Election, either to Resist, or Starve, and the Army, as much oblig'd, to make good their undertaking, or fall to nothing. What could be Rationally the Issue of these Provocations, and Animosities, but either the Destruction of the Army by the People; or of the People by the Army, in Order to a General Quiet? Neither of them being safe, but by the Ruine, and Subjection of the Other. If the People refuse to Pay, they are Presently Dis-affect'd; if the Souldiery be their own Carvers, they are lookt upon as Tyrannical, and Insolent; and here's Master furnish'd for a Civil War.

Now That which makes the Case Worse, is (as I said) that being Islanders, and wanting the Colour of Arming against Dangerous Neighbours, we are forced to spend that humour in Murmuring among our selves, which might Otherwise be Diverted by, and Employ'd upon, a Publique Quarrel.

### *A Digression to the State of FRANCE.*

This was calculated for 1662.

It seems to be the Interest of France to maintain a Standing Army.

Upon the Continent 'tis Otherwise; as in France, (for the Purpose) where though the King Entertains a Standing Army of 12000. and about Four score Regiments more, in Flanders, Italy, Catalogne, and Luxemburgh; (besides Strangers) There's yet the Countenance of an Interest, and a Prudential Ground for't: to Bullance the Power, or at least Check the Progress of his Ambitious Neighbour Spain. For (says the Duke of Rohan in his Interest of France) *Il faut opposer La Force à la Force. Car ni les persuasions, ni la Justice des armes, ne fera bati à celui qui sera armé, tellement que la France doit se retenir de toute autre despenée moins utile, & estre toujours puissamment armée.* [Force must meet Force, for 'tis the Sword that gives the Law to Equity, and Reason; wherefore let France rather be sparing in any other way, then in the Constant Entertainments of a puissant Army]

It may be Argu'd too, that the Exercise of Armes, is the Profession of the French Nobility, and in Effect, 'tis only War abroad keeps them in Peace at home. Yet even in France itself, where the Necessity of a Standing Army is bolster'd up with so many fair Appearances, the Effects are Dismal, how plausible soever the first Occasion seem'd.

Where

Where it began, or what it was, nor a rule matter, but that by Gradual encroachments, from small and Temporary Pretences, 'tis now grown to a Constant, and unlimited Excess; he that knows any thing of France, cannot be Ignorant.

They that fetch it from *Gunnar* King of Orleans, 587. look too far back methinks; and entitle the Tyranny to too fair a President: His Case being This.

*Gunnar* was the Survivor of Four Brothers, Sons of *Clotaire*: the First; the other Three, being *Cherebert*, *Chilperic*, and *Sigibert*. The Eldest of these, Dyed Childless; and the Other two were Murder'd by the Practises of *Fredegonde*, (first the Mistress, and afterward the Wife of *Chilperic*.)

*Sigibert*, supinely indulging himself in the height of his Conquests, and Pleasures, was Stabb'd in his own Palace by a Couple of Souldiers, employ'd by *Fredegonde*, who did as much at last for her Husband *Chilperic*; having first Caused him to Murder his Son *Clovis*; to Divorce one Wife, and Strangle another. The Story is Short, and a little Curious.

*Fredegonde* had a Gallant, called, *Landry de la Tour*, by Her, Preferr'd to be Duke of France and Mayor of the Palace. The King comes one Morning in his Hunting-Dress into the Queens Chamber, as she was busie about her Head, with her Hair over her Eyes; and (without a word speaking) tickles her on the Neck with the Twigg-end of his Riding-wand, *Ab Landry* (says she) That's not Cavalier like, so come Behind. The King was as much surpriz'd with the Discovery, as *Fredegonde* with the Mistake; and went his way with the Thought of it in his Countenance. *Landry* is presently sent for by the Queen, They discourse the Accident, Debate the Consequences, and in the End, Complot to have *Chilperic* Murdered as he returns from the Chase; which was Executed, with much Ease and Security, the King being only attended with a Single Page, who Dy'd with his Master, and the Murderers escap'd.

This *Chilperic* had, by *Fredegonde*, *Clotaire* the Second, (but Four Months old at the Death of his Father) and the Regency of King and Kingdom was Committed to *Gunnar*, (the young Kings Uncle by the Fathers side) The Regent, warn'd by the Miscarriage of his Brothers, and being enformed that the same Hand by which they fell, sought His Life also: Establishes

A Guard both  
Sutable and  
necessary about  
the Person of a  
King.

a Considerable Guard, constantly to attend his Person : which was both suitable to his Wisdom, and Dignity ; as a Security, against not only the Stroke of Violence, but the very Thought of it, and a fit Circumstance of Majesty.

The Maries of  
France abus'd  
the Confidence  
of their Ma-  
sters.

The Influence of This Force went not far, nor, in Truth, the Royalty of their first Race of Kings, much farther : whose either Lenity or Aversness to Business of State, gave their Great Counsellours the means to Usurp, and Transferr Their Authority, which Confidence they abus'd to the Supplanting of their Masters.

Complaints, Suits, References, Addresses, must be made, forsooth, to the Majors, not to the Kings : They undertake the Disposition of Monies, and Offices ; the Menage of Treaties and Alliances : They Grant, Revoke at Pleasure : Briefly, from 632. to 750. France was rather under a Majoralty, then a Monarchy : and Then, (Pope Zachary, having first Absolv'd the French of their Oath of Obedience) the Race of Ghilperic is

Pepin, the Son  
of a Powerfull  
Subject, depo-  
sed his Prince,  
and sets up  
Himself,

Laid By ; Himself (the Fourth of that Name) formally Degraded, and Cast into a Monastery, by Decree of Parliament ; and Pepin Install'd in his Stead. Thus did the Son of the Last Great Subject make himself the First of the Second Race of Kings : of which, in requital for too much said upon the Former, I shall say nothing at all. Nor much more upon this Subject ; save only that Charles the VII. and his Successour Lewis the XI. Laid the first firm Foundation of the Military Power ; to which, Charles the VIII. Francis the I. &c. have since furnish'd their Additionals, and Superstructures, to make the Tyranny compleat.

'Tis Truth ; the Splendor, and Profusion of the Court and Camp, is Dazling, and Prodigious ; they swim in Pleasures and Plenty : but he that turns his Eye toward those Miserable Animals, the Peasants, that with their Blood, and Sweat, Feed and Support that Luxe, and Vanity (with hardly bread for their own Mouths,) will find it much a different Prospect ; the great Enhansers of the Charge claiming Exemption from the burthen of it.

The State of  
France.

He that would see the Glory of the One Part, and the Slavery of the Other, needs only read L'ESTAT de la FRANCE, of 1661. Treating of the Officers of the Crown, Honours, Government, Taxes, Gabelles, &c. He shall there find the Venality of Officers, and Their Rates ; the Privileges of the Nobility,



ity, and Their Encroachments; Who are Exempt from Payments; or rather, that the Country-man Payes for All. To make an end, let him also observe the Power, and Partiality of their Supremement Parliament of Paris.

The Book I mention, is of undeniable Authority, wherein Account is given of, at the least, *Eight Millions (English)* arising from *Three Taxes* only; and for the sole behoof and Entertainment of the *Souldery* (their *Tailles*, *Tailion*, and *Subsistance*) Beside their *Aides*; (an Imposition upon all sorts of Merchandise, *Salt* excepted) which must needs be a *Vast Income*: and their *Gabelle* upon *Salt*; that brings in near *Two Millions* more. Not to insist upon *Casualties*, and infinite other Inventions for squeezing, which they practise: *The Plough maintains the Army*. [Take notice that this *Reflection* was Calculated for the *State of France* in 1661.]

The effects of a Standing Army in France.

Give them their Due, their *Noblesse* are *Brave* and *Accomplish'd Men*, and the *Brunt* of all *Hazzards* lies totally upon *Them*; but scarce in *Nature* is there a more *abject Commonalty*: and to conclude; Such is their *Condition*, that without *War*, they cannot *Live*: if not *Abroad*, they are sure to have it at *Home*.

Let it be Noted too: the *Taxes* follow'd their *Army*, not their *Army* the *Taxes*; for 'tis *One* thing to Levy *Money* to Raise *Guards*, and *Another* thing to Levy *Guards* to Raise *Money*: the *One* appearing to be done by *Consent*, the *Other* by *Force*. (I use *Guards* and *Army* promiscuously, as only taking a *Guard* for a small *Army*, and an *Army* for a stronger *Guard*.)

If a *Standing Army* subjects *France* to so many *Inconveniences*, (whereof *History* is full) where the *Strength* lies in the *Nobility*; How much more *Hazzardous* was it to *England*, where the *Welfare* of the whole, depended upon the *Affections* and *Interest* of the *Middle-rated People*: Especially under an *Usurper*, that was driven to uphold himself upon the daily *Consumption* of the *Nation*: (and a *Body* that becomes every day *Weaker* than *Other*, must not expect to be long-lived.)

A Standing Army more hazardous in England, than in France.

So much for the *Inconvenience* of *Cromwell's Standing Army*, as to the *Situation* of *England*, together with a *View* of the *Effects* of it in *France*. We'll now consider what *Wel-*

come



come it was like to find upon the *Point of Experience*, or *Custom*.

Alterations of  
Customs dan-  
gerous.

*Alteration of Customs*, is a work of *Hazard*, even in *Bad Customs*; but to change Customs under which a Nation has been happy, for *Innovations*, which upon *Experience* they have found *Fatal* to them, is matter of great *Peril* to the *Under-taker*. But I look upon *Oliver's Case*, as I do upon a *Proposition*, of such or such a *Mate at Chess*: where there are several ways to come within *One* on't, and *None* to *Hit* it. The *Devil* and *Fortune* had a mind to *Puzzle* him. He *Prefers* his *Pawns*; *Transfers*, *Shifts* his *Officers*; but all will not do: He still wants either *Men* or *Money*; if he *Disbands*, he has too few of the *One*; if he holds up, he has too little of the *Other*. Such in Truth, was this *Tyrant's Exigence*, that he was forc'd to That, which the *Lawful Possessors* of the *English Crown* would never venture upon: No, nor the *Usurpers* neither, before our *Blessed Reformers* of 1641. But

---Where will those People stay,  
That thorough God, and Majesty, make way.

Our Saxon  
Kings kept no  
Standing  
Army.  
Nor Edmond  
Ironside.

Our *Saxon Kings* contented themselves with a Law, *What Arms every man of Estate should find, and a Multt upon such as did Detractare Militiæ*.

*Edmond Ironside* after his *Duel* with *Canillus the Dane*; and a *Composition*, to divide the *English* and *Danish Kingdoms* betwixt them and their *Heirs*, kept no *Army* on *Foot* to *Guard* the *Agreement*; Neither did the *Danes* (who after his *Death*, *Treacherously Seiz'd* the *Kingdom*) to maintain their *Conquest*.

Nor William  
the Conque-  
rout.

*William the Conquerour*, that subdu'd both *English* and *Danes*, thought himself safe enough in creating *Tenures* by *Knights-Service*, and permitting *Proprietaries*; though at that time under such *Jealousies*, that he took divers of his *English Prisoners* into *Normandy* with him, for fear of a *Commotion* in his *Absence*.

Nor William  
Rufus.

*William Rufus*, and, after him, his Brother *Henry* the *First*, (tho' the *Usurpers* of the *Senior Right* of their *Elder Brother Robert*) set up his *Rest* upon the same *Terms*: And so did *Henry the II*, after a long *Contest* with *King Stephen*, and notwithstanding the *unruliness* of most of his *Sons*.

*Henry III*, and then *Edward I*, after the *Barons Warrs* Employ'd

Employ'd, nor standing Army to secure themselves, neither did Edward or Richard the Second, notwithstanding a Recent Faction of the Nobility bandying against the Barons of them.

Nor Hen. 3.  
Edw. 1. Edw.  
nor Ric. 2.

Neither did the Henries IV, V, and VI, in the Grand Schism of York and Lancaster, ever approve of it. Nor Henry VII, (as Wise and Jealous as any of his Predecessors.)

Nor the Henries 4, 5, 6, & 7.

If any thing could have warrant'd the Adventure, methinks the Topple-turvey and Brouillery which Henry the VIII, Introduc'd, might have perswaded, or provok'd it. But neither There, nor in the following Toss and Tumble of Religion, from Edward VI, to Queen Mary, and then back again to Queen Elizabeth, was it put in Practice.

No: Hen. 8.  
Edw. 6. Queen  
Mary, nor Q.  
Eliz.

King James had no Temptation to it. King Charles the Martyr, was indeed charg'd with the Intention of it, and so he was with being Popishly affected; (In Truth, with what not?) and the One as true as the Other. But who were They that laid This to His Charge? Even Those very Persons (some of them that advis'd Oliver to keep a Standing Army of 10000 Horse, and 20000 Foot, to Awe and Scourge the Nation. A Course unknown to our Forefathers; and by the Best and Worst of Former Princes equally disallow'd; the Bad not judging it Safe, nor the Good, Expedient.

Nor R. James,  
nor Charles  
the M A R-  
T Y R.

But other more Convenient, and as Effectual, means they had, either to Prevent Dangers, or Suppress Them, as their Custom of Friborghes, or Frank-Pledges, Enquests, Oathes, and Penalties, Tenures by Knights-Service, Commissions of Array, &c. Which being of approv'd Benefit, and Equality, were much more suitable to the Genius and Interest of the People, than a Standing Army; which to allow, had been no other than to deliver up the Strength of the Nation, into the hands of a Faction.

Expedients to prevent or disappoint Dangers.

Now was it less against the Government, than against the Humour of the Nation. Put a Parliament over the Nation, and an Army over the Parliament. Who Governs? But all Oliver's Geese were Swans; and his Souldiers Saints. Did they not Take what they would; Give what they would; Raise and Pluck-down at Pleasure? Nay, Effectually, did ever any Standing-Army Other, if they had nothing Else to do? Had they not already got the trick of calling the people together,

A Standing Army destrive to the Government.

to get money of them; and then sending them away like *Barbards*, when they had gotten it; of *Packing*, and *Qualifying*, *Engrossing* of *Powers* and *Offices*; *Contemning* the *Nation*. Was it to be expected they should restore the *Right Line* again, when they had set up the *Wrong*? The *King*, when they had erected a *General*; The *Law*, when they had Master'd it by the *Sword*? They did not Tug so hard, for that they meant to part with *Easily*. What they got by *Rebellion*, was to be maintain'd by *Tyranny*; and *Necessity* was sure at Last to do the work of *Conscience*.

An Army  
without Pay, is  
the most Dan-  
gerous Enemy

I Think, more need not be said to *Oliver's Standing Army*. His *Money* could not last always, and when he wanted *That* once, he was certain to find his *Army* as *Dangerous* an *Enemy*, as it had been a *Faithfull Friend* to him in his *Prosperity*.

Nay truly, 'bate his *Usurpation*; his want of *Faith* and *Honour*,—But rather then *Prophane* the *Sacred Character* of *God's Vicegerant* by joyning *Majesty* and *Cromwell* in the same Supposition; let us Imagine rather a *Wise* and *Lawfull Prince* in the place of that *Usurper*: and yet it may be a *Question*, How far a *Standing Army* would have Consisted with the *Interest*, even of a *Rightfull Monarch*.

*First*; As the *Nation* was *Poor*, and in no *Condition* for the *Charge* of it. *Next*; as it was *Impoverished* by an *Army*; and therefore ill-persuaded of *That Expedient*. *Thirdly*; the *Prince* himself must have been *Poor*; (in *Olivers Place*) and what should a *Poor Prince* have done with a *Standing Army*, over a *Poor* and *Discontented People*?

Money is the  
Interest of the  
World.

The *Interest* of This world is *Money*. *Subjects*. *Rebell*; *Armies Divide*; and *Kingdoms fall to nothing*, for want of it: That which *Fools* call *Fortune*, being (to men of clearer sight) only the *Favourable Influence* of *Treasure*. 'Tis *That*, which Carries *Towns*, *Causés*, and *Armies*; puts *Knaves* in *Honest mens* places; *Corrupts* *Confessors*, and *Supplants* *Governments*: the *People* wear their *hearts* at their *purse-strings*; and a *General Oppression*, is ever accompanied with a *General Desire* to *Remove* it. I speak of what they do, not what they ought to do; for all men are not of a *Constitution* to hang, and *Starve* for *Conscience*. In fine, where the *State* is *Necessitous*, and a *Faction* *Wealthy*, That *Prince* (as is already hinted) that erects a *Standing Force*, in that condition, does but provide an *Army* for his *Enemies*. Not to insist upon the *hazzards*, arising

arising either from the People, if the *Principal Officers* have too little Power; or from the *Officers* Themselves, if they have too much; by which, not only the *Publick Peace*, but the *Monarchy* it self, is *Endanger'd*: the *Kings Crown* depending upon the *Revels* of a *Province*. What can be more perillous then *This Conjunction*; where there is so great a *Temptation*, on the one hand, and so great a *Provocation* on the other; where the *Multitude* wait only for a *Head*, and the *Ambitious* for a *Party*?

But why do I discourse the *Mischiefs* of a *Standing Army*? They are too many, great and *Obvious*, to admit a *Question*. What are the *Benefits* of it Rather? Is it either *safe* to any Purpose, or *usefull* to the *common and pretended end* of it, even under a *Lawfull and Hereditary Monarch*?

What's the Benefit of a Standing Army.

It's true; a *Prince* may deal with his *Dominions*, as the *Gentleman* did. with his *Estate*, that turn'd an *Inheritance* into an *Annuity*, because he would rather have it *Large*, then *Long*, and That's the *Fairest* of a *Forc'd Government*; Suppose he save himself for his *own time*; what will become then of his *Succeffour*? But that we'll waive too; and Consider, what's the *Fruit* of it to himself?

*Is he the Richer for't*? Alas, the *Contrary*: the *Nation* bears a *Double Burthen*, and the *Army* Sucks the *better half* of the *Advantage*. *Is he the Safer*? Neither: for a *Mutiny* in his *Army*, is both more *likely*, and more *dangerous*, then a *Tumult* among his *People*. In fine; A *Standing Army* may promote a *Faction*, but 'tis the *Law* preserves the *Publick*, and consequently the *King*.

The mischief and danger of it.

That *Monarch* that Secures himself from *Private Practises* by a *Choice*, *Full*, and *Honourable Guard*, well *Paid*, and *Disciplin'd*, about his *Royall Person*; as to the *Rest* shall find the *Strict* and *timely Execution* of *Good Laws* the best *Publick Security* against *Sedition*.

A Royal Guard necessary and sufficient. With the timely execution of good Laws.

'Tis a *Cheap Remedy*, and therefore *Acceptable* to the *Generality*: A *Legall* one; so that the *Delinquents Themselves* cannot *Complain* of it; and *Lastly*, 'tis a *Sure* one: which if it be, what can be more *advisable* for any *Prince* and *People*? In *Truth*; so *Sure* it is, that I'm to seek (b'ate only *Matter of Claim*) where ever any *Setled Government* was *Embroyl'd*, but either by the *Interest* of a *Standing Force*; or the *Remissness* of *Authority*, in the *Execution* of *Establish'd Laws*.

Tho

34  
The Necessity of a Royall Guard is Evident; the Number must be suited to the differing Exigences of Times and Places; but with This General Regard; That it be not only sufficient to the Safety of a Prince; but Honorary likewise, and Accommodate to his Dignity; and Demonstrative rather of his Power than of his Danger.

But be the Body Great or Small; Nay, we'll suppose it equal, to a Standing Army (but not Distributed (as That is) into County-Troops, and Provincial Governments) Call it a Guard still, for the very Name of the Other sounds like a Grievance. The One, supposing only the Peoples Care of their Sovereign; the Other intimating the Sovereigns Jealousie of his People. Let me not be understood as in allowance of This Overproportion: for such a Guard is but an Army in Disguise.

There may be Temporary Occasions indeed, for Temporary, and Extraordinary Levies, but the word Temporary, is commonly attended with such a Train of Reasons for Perpetuity; that if the Occasion be not very Manifest, the World is apt to doubt of the Necessity. Not that the Generality have any Right to judge of, or Debate the Grounds of a Change; but I suppose that Their Opinions, and After-feelings will not be deny'd to have some Influence upon the Event of it.

To Conclude; That Prince is Great, Safe, and Happy, that Commands by his Armes, Abroad, and Governs by his Laws at Home. The Apprehension of Conspiracies and Plots, in my opinion, weighs not much; or if there be any danger; the failing is rather in the Constitution or Administration, then in the want of Power to keep the People quiet: Good Laws, and Good Officers, will do the Business, without an Army; and if the Instruments be bad, The Hazzard's Ten times greater with it.

It will be needful here, for the Clearing of the Question, to make a Particular Enquiry concerning Seditions; and that's the Point we'll handle in the Next Chapter; which, for Order sake, we shall divide into Seven Sections, with their Subdivisions as occasion shall require.



## C A P. IX.

*Of Seditions in Particular; and shewing in what manner they arise from These Seven Interests, The Church, the Bench, the Court, the Camp, the City, the Countrey, and the Body Representative.*

**I**N the first Chapter of this Tract, we have touch'd upon the *Matter and Causes of Seditions in General*: We must be now a little more *Particular*.

The *Scene's Utopia*; and we'll *Divide* it, into *Seven Interests*, The, *Church*, the *Bench*, the *Court*, the *Camp*, the *City*, the *Countrey*, and the *Body Representative*: the least considerable of which, being in any great disorder, hazzards the *whole*; and That, either by engaging in some *Actual Violence* against the *Government*; or by some *Irregularity of Proceeding* that may *Provake* or *Cause* it. Of *These* in their *Course*, and *first* of the *Church*.

### §. I.

#### *Seditions arising from the* C H U R C H.

**T**Hose Troubles in the *State* which derive from *Distempers* in the *Church*, proceed either from *Faction*, *Ignorance*, or *Scandal*.

The Strongest Tie upon Reasonable Nature, is *Conscience*; and the *Stubborneſt* *Consciences*, are Those that do they know not *What*, they know not *Why*. In Truth, what is *Conscience* without *Underſtanding*, but a well-meaning *Madneſs*? And That's the Faireſt *Senſe* my *Charity* can afford to the *Blind Zeal* of a *Transported Multitude*. If *Conscience* bids them *Kill the King*; *Rob the Church*; and *Tear up the Foundations of Both Governments*; They'l do it: Nay, *More*, This has been done, and *Providence* it ſelf *Proclaim'd* for the *Doer* of it. Great *Heed* ſhould then be taken, what *Persons* are *Entruſt*-ed with the *Care* of *Souls*, ſince the *Conſequence* of a *Faction's Preacher*, and a *Miſtaken Conſcience*, proves many times the *Ruine* both of *Prince* and *People*.

Under

J. M. A. R. E. N. T. O.

Under the Note of *Faction*, I comprize all *Opinions* delivered *Publickly*, and with *Design*; against the *Doctrine*, *Præctice*, or *Authority* of the *Church*. Reduce it, in Short, to *Heresie*, and *Schism*. The former whereof, reflecting only upon Matters of *Faith*, concerns rather *Religion*, than *Government*: and lyes beyond the Line of my purpose; but in This Place; the *Later* is the Question, and, briefly as we may, we'll take a view of the *Rise*, the *Method*, the *Design*, and the *Effects* of it.

It is with *Church-men* as with other *Mortals*; There are of all Sorts, *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferent*. Some we have known, whom neither the *Loss* of *Dignity*, *Fortune*, *Freedom*, no, nor the *Loss* of *Life* it self, could ever move from the strict Rule of *Conscience*, *Magnanimity*, and *Duty*. Others we have seen to *Exercise* these *Cruelties*, (though *Ecclesiasticks* themselves) upon the Nobler Sort of their own *Function*. And some again, we have observ'd to shift with every *Turn*, and Steer by *Interest*; still putting on the *Livery* of the Prevailing Party: Squaring the Rule, and Will of *Heaven* to the Appetites and Passions of *Humanity*. So that upon the whole, 'tis evident; some *Clergy-men* are *Quiet*, because they have *Preferments*, and Others *Troublesom*, because they want them.

The Principal *Ingredients* into *Schism*, are These; *Ambition*, *Avarice*, *Popularity*, and *Envy*; The Scope of it is to destroy *Authority*, and advance a *Faction*. Now how to accomplish This, is the Great Work; for a *Rent* in the *Church* signifies nothing without a *Sedition* in the *State*: and in This manner they proceed.

First, In a Style of Holy *Tenderness* they slyly disaffect the People against the *Rights* of the *Church*, as in themselves unlawful; and utterly *Destructive* of *Christian Liberty*.

To strengthen, and advance the *Imposture*, what do they next, but rip up all the *Failings*, and shew the *Nakedness* of their *Superiours*? Still aggravating what they find, and creating *Scandalous* Matter where they want it.

When the Multitude are once mov'd in *Conscience* against the *Impositions*, and in *Passion* against the *Imposers*; their next attempt is upon the *Authority*, and then They divide into *Separate Assemblies*, which under colour of so many *Conscientious Dissenters* from the *Ceremonies* of the *Church*, are infallibly so many *Contrivers* against the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*.

For

The Rise of  
Schism.

The method  
of it.

The motion of  
Schism into  
Sedition.

For last comes in the Civil Power to prohibit their Seditious Meetings, and Then, the Saints (they cry) are Persecuted: The Cause is God's; and they are ty'd in Conscience to bind their Kings in Chains; and through all Extremities to pursue a Reformation: This is the Fruit of Toleration a Faltion under a Countenance of Conscience. Nor is it any wonder to see those wretches draw their Swords against Their Sovereign in the Field, whose Souls are turn'd against him in the Pulpit.

The Design.

But 'tis Objected, that some Ministers do really make a Conscience, of Conformity. Truly, the better for Them, if they forbear upon That Account; but 'tis the same thing to the Publick, upon what account soever; for they Prescribe, what they Practise, and by the President of Sticking upon a Doubt of Conscience, they open a Door to Disobedience upon any Pre- And Effect sence of it, breaking the Bond of Unity in favour of a Particu- of it. lar nicety of Opinion.

Very notable is The Determination of the Lord St. Albans, in This Case [In Points Fundamental, he that is not with us is against us. In Points not Fundamental, he that is not against us, is with us.]

Note.

Let this suffice to shew the Political Inconvenience of Entertaining Schismatical Preachers. It may be now a Question, How far a Christian Magistrate may justify the sufferance of any man to exercise the Ministry, within his Dominions, that's a profess'd Enemy to Episcopacy: Which I Offer, with the fit Modesty of a Proposal, and with Reverence, to the better inform'd. But if, as the Danger of such a Mixture is Evident, so the Lawfulness of it shall appear doubtfull, their own Argument is then turn'd against Themselves, and we have both Scripture and Experience on our side, over and above.

Qu. May an enemy to Bishops exercise the Ministry?

The Three Questions, wherewith King Charles the Martyr Choak'd the Presbyterian Ministers in the Isle of Wighr, Remain still Unresolv'd, and they are These.

First, Is there any Certain Form of Church Government at all prescrib'd in the World?

Three Questions propounded by King Charles the Martyr, concerning Church Government.

Secondly, If there be any Prescript Form, Whether or no may the Civil Power Change the same, as they see Cause?

Thirdly, If any Prescript Form there be, and That unchangeable; If it were not Episcopal, what was it?

In Fact, the Constant Exercise of Church-Prelacy is so manifest, that the whole stream of Story, and Tradition Runs Episcopal.

*piscopal*: which to Oppose, were to deny the only Means of knowing whether it were so, or not.

Is it the *Right* they Question? Take then the learned Bishop *Sanderſon's* Deduction of it.

The derivation of Episcopal Government.

Leaving other men to the liberty of their own Judgments, my opinion is, that **EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT** is not to be derived meerly from Apostolical Practice or Institution: but that it is originally founded in the Person and Office of the *Messias*, our Blessed Lord **JESUS CHRIST**. Who being sent by his Heavenly Father to be the great Apostle [HEB. III. 1.] Bishop and Pastor, [1 PET. II. 25.] of his Church, and anointed to that Office immediately after his Baptism by **JOHN**, with power and the Holy Ghost [ACT. X. 37--8.] descending then upon him in a bodily shape [LUK. III. 22.] did afterwards, before his Ascension into Heaven, send and impower his holy Apostles, (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise as his Father had given him) in like manner as his Father had before sent him [J. O. H. XX. 21.] to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral Office for the ordering and governing of his Church untill his coming again: and so the same Office to continue in them, and their Successours, unto the end of the World. [M. A. T. XXVIII. 18--20.] Thus far the Reverend Bishop.

Some will Pretend, that This only proves the *Authoritative* Power they receiv'd by their Mission, but no Succession to the Office.

Christ's Mandate to the Apostles.

For That; Observe the Mandate, [Go, Teach ALL Nations.] Personally, and Actually they could not do it; but in Effect, and Virtually, 'tis out of doubt, they did it: and How, but by their Delegates? For otherwise; our Saviour Comanded them a Thing Impossible. Briefly; if the Gospel was to be Preach'd to All Nations, (which no Christian will deny) and if (according to the Literal direction of the Order) the Gospel could not be Preach'd to all Nations, by so few Persons as were Then Commission'd; what follows, but the Evident Necessity of a Substitution; which Delegation being granted, clears the Dispute: for 'tis Indubitable that What Authority soever our Saviour vested the Apostles with, the same likewise was from Them transmitted to their Successours; Who (in the words of his late Sacred Majesty) succeed into the same Apostolical Power, and Function; which the Apostles, as Ordinary Pastors, had. Qui in Dominium alterius succedit,

Jur.

*Inter se non debet.* He that succeeds to the Government of another, succeeds also to his Rights of Governing. And Mark This further; that the Apostles Powers, and Commissions, were granted before the Descent of the Holy Ghost: and relating only to matters of Ordinary use, and perpetual Establishment in the Church; the extraordinary Gifts of the Apostles not at all proving them extraordinary Officers.

Now how far a Prince may safely either Act, or Suffer the violation of a Church-Government of This Authority, I am not yet instructed. Episcopacy unalterable.

In fine; it is most certain, that a Divided Clergy makes a Divided Nation; and by how much Religion is the fairest of all Pretences; Conscience the deepest of all Impressions; Preaching and Praying the most Popular and Publick of all Operations: by so much are Dissaffected Church-men the most Pernicious and Intolerable of all disloyal Instruments. No Calumny being so Plausible, as That which drops from the Lips of Persons famous for an External form of Piety: No Hypocrites so abominable, as Those that Tishe Mint, and Cummin, and yet neglect Mercy and Judgment: that under colour of long Prayers devour Widows houses, &c. And no sting so Deadly, as That from a Snake in a mans own bosome. Corruptio Optimi, Pessima.

We have now done with the Schismatick; the Active and Industrious promoter of Seditions. The Matter he works upon, is Scandal; either Suppos'd or Real; and That comes next.

In all Investives against the Church, the Scandalous, Negligent, and Insufficient, March hand in hand: to which are opposed a Party that stile themselves a Godly, Painfull, and Able Ministry. Thus with the Boasting, and Censorious Pharisee, does the Proud Schismatick advance himself above his Brethren, calling Good Evil, and Evil Good; imposing equally upon the People, by an uncharitable Judgment, and Report, on the One side, and a fictitious Holiness, on the Other. The method of Schisma.

Not to excuse all Clergy-men, nor to extenuate the Crimes of any of them. Judas his Treason was the Foulter because of his Profession: and yet the Eleven were never the worse, because of Judas his Treason.

We'l Grant, that for a Minister to spend one Hour of the week in a Pulpit, and the rest in a Tavern; to Undo a good Sermon by an Ill Example; and to discredit a Strict Doctrine by A Scandalous Clergy, makes a Seditious Layety.



by a *Loose Life*; is to extinguish the *Reverence* that is due to the *Function*; and to make *Preaching* look only like a *Pedestrian Ordinance*, to keep the *People* in *Order*. Not that the *Doctrine* is ever the worse for the *Person*; nor the *Priesthood* the less *Venerable* for the *abuse* of it; but it ministers matter of *Scandal*, and *Exception*: and with the *Simple* it passes for an *Argument* against the *Government*.

Slander is the  
Sin and Pra-  
ctice of the  
Devil.

But as the *Habit* of *Drunkenness*, and *Prophaness*, in a *Churchman* is most *unsufferable*; so is it on the other hand a *Practice* *Diabolical*, to put all their *Actions* upon the *Tent*, and *Skrew* up every *allowable*, and *social Freedom* to the construction of a *Scandal*. As if there were no *Medium* to be admitted, betwixt the *Angel* and the *Brute*. Are they not *Men*; and equally subjected to *Infirmities*, with other *Men*? 'Tis true; their *Calling* is *Divine*, but their *Persons* are *Humane*; and as much is required, in regard of Their *Ministry*: so somewhat also is to be *born with* in respect of their *Humanity*. Remember, there were those that call'd our Saviour himself a *Wine-bibber*.

Alas; For a Minister to *Drink* a *Glass* of *Wine* in a *Tavern*, is made a mighty business: Nay, to be only *Pleasant*, and *well-humour'd*, is by some, cast in their dish as an *Ayre too Light* for the *Severity* of their *Profession*: as if the *Messengers* of *Joy*, the *bearers* of *good-tidings* to the world, were only to be *sad Themselves*, and *look*, as if either They suspected the *Truth* of their *Errand*, or their *Title* to the *Benefit* of it.

Shun Appear-  
ances of Scan-  
dal.

However, since there are Those that will make use of *small Occasions* to do *great Mischiefs*; It is a *Point* of *Pious Prudence*, fairly to shun appearances of *Scandal*; but 'tis indeed of high, and absolute *Necessity*, to *Punish*, or *Remove* the *Scandal* it self: as That which both *provokes* a *Judgment* from *Heaven*, and *stirs up* the *People* to *execute* it. Yet let us put some difference betwixt *Sins* of *Appetite*, and *Sense*; and *Sins* of *Malevolence*: in the *Former*, a man plays the *Beast*; but in the *Latter*, he plays the *Devill*.

Ignorance a  
Species of  
Scandal.

I look upon *Ignorance* also, as a *Species* of *Scandal*; even although in a *Good Man*; for every *Good Man* makes not a *Good Minister*; nor do I know which is more tolerable; *Habitual Ignorance*, and *Sensuality* in a *Divine*; or *Ignorance* in a *Teacher*: the hazzard of *False Doctrine*, or the *Influence* of an ill *Example*.

Touch

Touching the *Body* of the *Clergy*, enough is said, to shew the dangerous Effects of *Schism*, and *Scandal*; the *One* tending Directly to *Sedition*, the *Other*, *Consequentially*.

There remains another *Strumbling-block*, and That concerns the *Governours* of the *Church*; who are commonly charged with *Innovations*, *Rigour*, *Pride*, or *Avarice*. They are capable of All This, as they are *Men*; but never the more blameable for a *Clamour* Level'd at them as they are *Bishops*: There being great *Difference*, betwixt *Personal Reproof*, and a *Faction's Confederacy*: betwixt the *seasonable Freedom* of *Counsel*, or *Reprehension*; duly Circumstanc'd; and the *contumacious Insolence* of *Subjects* toward their *Superiours*. In fine, a *likely Tale* does their *Feat* as well as a certain *Truth*; only they accommodate all their *Stories* to the *Design* of *over-turning* the *Government*, and to the *Gast* of the *Multitude*.

Bishops blamed by the more blameable.

The *Sound* of *Innovations*, and of *Popery*, in some places, Fears and Jealousies.

They *Fear*, they *Wish*, they *Love*, they *Hate*, they know not what: and yet against this Terrible *Nothing*, shall they engage their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, as *Zealously*, as if their *Souls* lay at *Stake*; and as *Ridiculously*, as if they Phansy'd These same *Innovations* to be an *Army of Flying Dragons*, and the *Pope* leading them on upon a *Hobby-horse*. With this *Device*, the *Multitude* is first startled, and then every *Bush* is a *Thief*; *Church-Habits* are the *Trumpery* of *Rome*; *Decency* is *Superstitious*; *Kneeling*, direct *Idolatry*: And finally, to *Impute* all This, is interpreted, *A violence* upon the *Consciences* of the *Godly*. Thus from the very *Method* of *Agreement* is rais'd an *Argument* for *Separation*; and *Christian Liberty* is render'd *Defructive* of *Humane Authority*.

Another General Objection, among the *Prouder Brethren*, is the *Pride* of *Bishops*; their *Lording* it over *God's Heritage*: which through the *Person*, Wounds the *Office*, Incensing the *Multitude* against the *Power* it self, under pretext of blaming the *unlawful Exercise* of it. Suitable to the *Dignity* of *Bishops*, and *Correspondent* to the *Duty* of them, ought to be the *Revenue*: (that is, sufficient both for *Honour* and *Hospitality*) in which Particular, the *Ecclesiastical Patrimony*, is by some People thought as much too *Large*, as the *Jurisdiction*; and from a false and envious *Calculation* of *Bishops Rents*,

Bishops charged with Pride, by the prouder Brethren.

*Remedy*, occasion is taken to inveigh against their *Avarice*; exposing them at once, both as a *Grievance*, and a *Booby*. Thus, like the *Devil*, the *Schismatick* advances his Kingdom by *Slender*, and thrives by the *Sins* of the People.

We have dwelt long upon this Subject of the *Church*; but with the next, The *Bench*, we shall be quicker.

## §. II.

### THE BENCH.

Conscience  
and Law go-  
vern the  
World.

THE Two main *Springs* that Move and Govern the Affections of reclaim'd Nature, are *Conscience* and *Law*. By the *Former* we are oblig'd, in relation to our *Immortal Being*; and by the *Other* as *Men* Link'd in *Society*. Our *Priests* and *Judges*, are the *Oracles* we depend upon, for *Counsel*, and *Instruction*; in both these Grand Concerns: and if They deceive us, what greater Misery can befall a Nation, than to have *Juglers*, and *Impostors*, take up the *Bench* and *Pulpit*? Cousening the *Vulgar* with *False Weights* and *Measures*, of *Truth* and *Reason*; and uttering their *Licentious Prevarications*, for *Law*, and *Gospel*? In which *Case*, the greater the *Modesty* and *Vertue* of the *Common-people*, the greater is the *Peril* of the *Delusion*: it being their Duty to *submit*, to the *Reason* of the *One*, and to *Believe* the *Doctrine* of the *Other*, without *disputing* either, unless in Matters most *Notoriously* *Repugnant* to the *Elements* of *Polity* and *Religion*. And he's not his *Crafts-master*, that cannot give, even to the foulest *Purpose*; a *Colour* fair enough to cheat a *Multitude*. What *Wickedness* is there, for which a corrupt *Divine* shall not produce a *Text*; and a *shifting Lawyer* a *Precedent*? But enough is said of the *Former*, and too much in *Presace* to the *Latter*.

Occasions of  
Sedition.

Those *Faults*, among the Professors of the *Law*, which frequently cause *Seditions* (although not in *Themselves* *Seditious*) are, *Corruption*; *Partiality*; *Oppression*; *Chargeable Delays*: or, in a word, the *Non-administration* of *speedy Justice*. Whereupon must necessarily ensue *Poverty*. *Factions*, *Animosities*, &c.

The *Consequences* are *Dangerous* likewise, of *over-straining* the *Prerogative*; and so of *Depressing* it: both which may be done, either out of *Zeal*, or with *Design*. But, be the  
Intention

*Intention of the Door what it will, the Effects of the Thing done are Mischievous, for it injects Fears and Jealousies of Tyranny, on the one side; and begets False and bold Opinions and Attempts of Liberty on the other: engaging all Humours against the Government, whom either the Hopes and Gust of Freedom, or the Dread of Oppression can work upon. But Personal Vices and Mistakes, we may put upon the Roll of Slow Poysons, that do the Deed, though it be long first.*

There are another sort of *Lawyers*, whose Malice is of a Seditious Lawyers and Schismatical Divines are the most abominable Seducers. *Quicker, and Stronger Operation; under whose Lips is the poison of Asps: or rather, whose Tongues are Daggers, turning the Point of Law, upon the Law it self; wounding the Eagle with a Feather from his own Wing, and Stabbing the Persons of Princes with their own Authority. These are the Execrable Regicides; and the Tumultuary Rabble are but the Ministers of their vile Purposes. Alas! in Matter of Law; by whom should the simple Multitude be directed, if not by Lawyers? (as by Divines, in point of Conscience.) Whether is the greater Offender then; that Ignorant Wretch that draws his Sword against his Sovereign, on the behalf of Law and Religion: (as he supposes: ) Or, Those Abominable Seducers, that by wrested Scriptures, pretended Inspirations; by misconstruction of Laws, misapplying of Presidents; Torturing or Embazelling of Records; inveigle the Poor Creature into a Good Opinion of so foul an Enterprize? What signifies the Event of a Popular Action, compared with the deliberate Contrivance, Allowance, and Direction of it; more than the Effect of some dull Passive Instrument, employed by such or such an Agent? Or, if a Prince be Murther'd; whether's the more to blame, the Axe, or the Executioner; the Bullet, or the Marks-man? So much for the BENCH, now to the COURT.*

## The COURT.

**BY** the Court-Interest, is meant *That Party*, which more immediately depends upon the *Grace and Favour* of the Prince: and here (as elsewhere) *Seditions* are either *Plotted* or *Occasion'd*.

Plotters of Sedition.

Touching the *Plotters of Seditions*; Some out of *Avarice*, with *Judas*, Betray their *Masters*. Others, are spurred on by *Ambition*, with *Absolom* to *Supplant* Them. One man is put up by *Popularity*; a Second, stung with *Envy*; a Third, with *Jealousie*; a Fourth, transports himself with *Revenge*, or some other *Personal Animosity*. In fine, These various *Humours*, make but *One Party*; and the *Covetous, Ambitious, &c.* agree in the same *Conspiracy*.

Are of three Sorts,

Of the *Contrivers of Sedition*, some strike directly at the *Governour*; Others, at the *Government*: and a Third Sort, by crafty *Circumstances*, and *Windings*, chuse rather to *Mine* the *Regal Authority*, then *Batter* it; and to *work out* a Prince by a *Scream*, rather then *force* him by an *Army*.

Usurpers.

The first sort of *Contrivances* here *Specifi'd*, are such as *clayming* to the *Crown*, *Themselves*, Challenge the *Prince* that wears it, as an *Usurper*: And These, by making a fair *Title* to the *People*, joyn'd with a little *Popular skill of Humouring* the *Multitude*, may with great ease engage a *Party*, in favour of a *Person* whom they *Love*, against a *Right* which they cannot *understand*.

Monarch-malists.

Concerning such as directly oppose the *Form of Monarchy*, upon a *Principle of Judgment*; much needs not be said, because they are neither *many*, nor *considerable*: for, to maintain That *Paradox*, they must overthrow all *Story*, *Sacred*, and *Prophane*; the *Practise* of all *Ages*, and the *Reason* of all *Governments*.

Jesuitical Partisans.

A Third sort of *Contrivers*, are Those who under fair appearances of *Loyalty*, and *Publickness*, of *Spirit*, Masque their *Seditious Intents*, and Drive on a *Particular Interest*. From which kind of evil Instruments, even the *Cabinets*, and *Private Counsels* of Princes are not absolutely Free; and (according to Sir Francis Bacon) the hazzard arises, either from an

Over-



*Over-greatness in one Counsellor; is to be understood in Divers; which are (but the) things here found and taken. For Perspicuity sake, we'll treat of this Division in Sub-sections.*

### Sub-section I.

*Over-greatness in one Counsellor.*

**T**He *Over-greatness in one Counsellor*; is to be understood Principally, in Respect of his *Credit* with his *Master*; and partly, in Regard of those great *Offices*, and *Riches* which are commonly heap'd upon great *Favourites*, giving them the means of *over-awing* the *Honesty* of their *Inferiours*, and of *ingratiating* themselves with the *People*; at least with so many of them as will be drawn to their *Party*, either by *Fear*, or *Promotion*.

Where it happens that a *Prince* his Heart is touch'd with the *Magick* of so much Kindness for a *Subject*, as to make him dangerously *Over-great*: it is not either *Wisdom*, or *Virtue*, that can properly deliver him from That *Charme*, but it must be rather *Time*, and *Experience*, that shall *Dis-enchant* him, Nor is it a *Fault* in a *Prince*, to comply with a *Natural Inclination*; but it is a *Barbarous Ingratitude* in a *Subject* to abuse it, by Endeavouring, (Comparatively) to *Darken the Sun*, with the *sparklings* of a *Refracted light*, stor from his *own Glory*.

In This Case, the *Happiness* of a *Nation* depends not *absolutely* upon the *Prudence* of the *Governour*; but, in some Degree, upon the *Honesty* of the *Favourites*: not altogether upon *Counsell*; but much also upon *Enformation*: nor upon *That* neither, so much concerning the *State* and *Quality* of *Affairs*, as touching the *Finess* of *Instruments* to manage them, and the *Faith*, and *Abilities* of *Persons*. [In vain is it, (says the Profound St. Albans) for *Princes* to take *Councell* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Councell* likewise concerning *Persons*.]

Is a *Kingdom* in *Danger* of *Invasion*, or *Sedition*? To Obviate That *Danger* by a *Force*, is a *Rational Expedient*. But he that Arms his *Enemies* instead of his *Friends*, *Increaseth* the *Danger*. It were neither *safe*, nor *Royall*, for a *Prince* to Walk, or Sleep without a *Watch* about him. But

Willow 1777  
North 1777  
1777

Time is the  
best Tryal of  
Fidelity.

The Knowledge of  
Persons, is more  
then the Under-  
standing of  
Matters.